

# THE BLACK PANTHER

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**"IF THE PENALTY FOR THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM IS  
DEATH--THEN BY DEATH WE ESCAPE TO FREEDOM."**

HUEY P. NEWTON  
SUPREME COMMANDER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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## PIG HARRINGTON OF PHILADELPHIA OINKS THAT PIGS WILL FURTHER THEIR SHOOT TO KILL CAMPAIGN



PIG HARRINGTON

On Tuesday August 4, 1970, a fool pig made a statement at the National Convention of the Fraternal Order of Pigs. This fool was John Harrington, president of the Fraternal Order of pigs. (FOP). The statement that was made by the pig was: "The pig officers may start a shoot to kill campaign if they did not receive more public support. If more public support does not materialize for pigs and if judges don't stop being permissive, then the feeling of pigs is maybe we better (sic) resort to the old Mexican deguello, a shootout in which we take no prisoners." Rizzo was there and he made a statement saying "This will never happen in Philadelphia

as long as I'm the Pig commissioner. 99 per cent of my guys would have nothing to do with something like that. We don't need that kind of thing. We will follow the laws of the land and they apply equally to both pigs and citizens."

Now we all know that these pigs are fools. Anytime they can oink such lies to the people, knowing that the people are aware of their murder. How can Harrington say he may start something that has existed here for many years? And how can Pig Rizzo say that his pig force could never do this when they murder Black people daily in cold blood. These pigs are fools, and fools will be dealt with. We say that these pigs do not have any respect for Black people and it is time for the people to form self defense groups throughout the Black colony. Huey says, "The pigs must withdraw immediately from the Black community and cease their wicked murder and brutality upon Black people or face the WRATH OF THE ARMED PEOPLE."

DEATH TO THE PIGS AND FOOLS!

Dolores -Community Worker  
Black Panther Party  
Community Information Center  
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## SISTER MARGARET WILL CONTINUE APPEALING HER CASE WITH THE WELFARE DEPT. UNTIL THE RACIST PIGS SEE THAT THEY CANNOT CONTROL BLACK PEOPLE'S WILL OR DETERMINE OUR DESTINY

Point No. 2 of the Black Panther Party's 10 Point Platform and Program states: WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income.

In October 1969, Sister Margaret Turner went to the welfare office in her district for additional assistance. This additional assistance was for babysitting and car care, so that she could attend O.I.C. (Opportunity Industrialization Center) for a trade to be able to offer her family and herself the best standard of living possible. She attended O.I.C. until Nov. of 1969 then she began doing community health work under the supervision of the Black Panther Party. In February the Party opened a Free Medical Center, at 1609 W. Susquehanna Ave. the Mark Clark free Medical Center, of which she operated.

In March a nigger lackey named C.L. Terry called the sister and informed her that she would be ordered to pay back all of the school allowance she had received since she left the O.I.C. She also told the sister the department of welfare was charging her with fraud, for receiving funds aside from her regular assistance under false pretenses. This sister had been in the Party long enough to know her "legal" rights so she called a lawyer from the local Welfare Rights Organization, and informed them of what happened. In the meantime the sister's check had been cut, and welfare

was trying to scare the sister into paying the money back. The lawyer contacted the caseworker (Nigger Terky) to replace the money that had been cut from the sister's check and also explained why welfare could not take the sister to court. After this he started proceedings for an appeal for the sister to receive the extra allowance as long as she was receiving training at the health center under the supervision of a doctor.

The primary appeal hearing went on Thursday Aug 6, 1970 at 10:30 a.m. where the pigs refused to listen to the statements from their own manual, that stated that you can get training from a non-profit agency. Black Panther Party, they refused to listen to anything the sister or her lawyer had to say. After the pig caseworker said that Miss Turner was affiliated with the Black Panther Party and the center she worked in was one of the Black Panther Party's free programs. This clearly shows that the pigs have no regard for people who think for themselves, or who will not accept their keep niggers in their place training. Sister Margaret is still appealing this case and will do so until the racist pigs see that they cannot control Black people's will or determine their destiny in the Black community.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!  
ON WITH REVOLUTION!

M. Turner

## DECADENT HOUSING CONDITIONS IN A BLACK COMMUNITY OF PHILADELPHIA

On Wednesday August 5, 1970, at approximately 1:30 p.m., me and another brother were walking thru the community and we came to the corner of 28th and Oakdale Sts. As I looked up the street, my eyes came upon a sight that quickly reminded me of a plot of genocide that the pigs have planned for Black people. I walked down the block to talk to some of the residents about the conditions of the houses there. I talked to Mrs. Cannon, who had lived there for almost 20 years. She told me that she and a few more people had called the pigs to city hall a number of times concerning the unhealthy and unsafe conditions that exist in their block, mainly the 24 vacant, yet unboarded, houses.

After further investigation, I found that these same pigs that Mrs. Cannon was trying to contact were the owners of these decadent, run-down, vacant houses. I checked out the conditions of each of these houses then I went with Mrs. Cannon to her house where she showed me the kitchen ceiling which was falling in. She then took me upstairs to the



TYPICAL HOUSING CONDITIONS FOUND IN  
BLACK COMMUNITIES THROUGHOUT BABYLON

bathroom and showed me the toilet and how it was only held to the wall by a thin copper pipe. She told me she had asked her pig landlord a number of times about fixing up these conditions, but like the low lived pig that he is, all he would oink was, "I'll send someone around next week to fix things up." Well, that was

approximately a month and a half ago and the pig still hasn't sent anyone.

We, the people of the Black community, accuse the pig officials in city hall and the slum landlords throughout the city, of a sadistical plot to commit genocide of Black people. We further accuse the maniac that run the pig power structure of this city (Tate, Rizzo, etc.) of a mass plot to dehumanize Black people. We recognize in the final analysis, that the only way in which we will get decent housing is when we rise up like a mighty storm to destroy every last pig, beast devil that is oppressing us and stopping us from living as human beings. Then we will definitely see justice done.

And this is a fact, so later for the pigs.

WE WANT DECENT  
HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHEL-  
TER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
SEIZE THE TIME!

Joe Harvey  
Community Worker



MRS. CANNON

## MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE: CITY OF 300,000 OPPRESSED NIGGERS

Memphis, Tennessee is a city in the southern part of racist Babylon. It is the city where Martin Luther King was murdered. We all know that the assassination of King was nothing more than a C.I.A. plot, planned and carried out by this fascist power structure to eliminate all persons and individuals that are struggling to bring about a change of this decadent American society.

Conditions of racist discrimination, oppression and exploitation along with human degradation have been subjected to even up to this present time. Brothers and sisters that had been kidnapped and railroaded through the racist court system - during the 1968 riots are still confined. Some because neither they, nor their families can raise the ransom demanded by racist judges, others have no ransom at all.

Because of niggers moving in the best way they knew how during the riots of 1968 and destroying a great deal of the avaricious businessman's property, the pigs have

stepped-up their fascist tactics. The pigs have set up pig outposts in the colony where they distribute food stamps to the people, they have what they call a free lunch program, which consists of feeding hungry people, cold sandwiches on day old bread. These activities are there to deceive the people and kill them with sugar coated bullets.

Along with these foul tactics of trickery, the pigs fly over the Black community at night in helicopters. These pigs shine large floodlights down into the colony indiscriminately. They shine their lights into peoples homes and on the brothers as they congregate on the block, shouting through megaphones "O.K. niggers let's break it up." Memphis has more than its share of Black lackeys and nigger rent-a-pigs. In all Black communities across Babylon, the power structure, in an attempt to repress the rising revolutionary spirit of the masses, has flooded the colony with drugs. Pimps and pushers are off in the colony dealing out death to the people in the form of heroin, cocaine,

LSA capsules and Red devils. The same is true of Memphis, Tennessee.

Planned conditions of indecent housing, unemployment and hunger all the basic needs that the people must have to live, are denied Black people of Memphis. Black lackeys constantly rise the people up and then sell them out for their own personal gain. Such is the plight of the Black people of Memphis.

The repression mounts daily, there have been 300 cases of pig brutality since the summer began and 9 brothers were ripped off in the month of June. The chief of pigs, Lox stated on T.V. that he gives his pigs guns for the purpose of "shooting to kill". The people of Memphis must move to deal with these foul pigs and take up arms in defense of our basic human right - the right to determine our destiny.

To the pigs of Memphis, we say repression only breeds resistance, and Black people WILL resist. DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS Nelson

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.



## BLACK MEDIA WORKERS DEFEND EARL CALDWELL: NEW YORK TIMES REFUSES TO PROTECT REPORTER

Earl Caldwell, a Black correspondent with the San Francisco bureau of the New York Times, was found guilty of civil contempt by a Federal judge after he refused to turn over information about the Black Panther Party to a grand jury here.

The New York Times refused to support him in any way, and at the same time its managing editor, A. M. Rosenthal, sent a memorandum to all Times staffers reassuring them that the Times is prepared to defend its reporters if they run into trouble while doing their job.

The Times wouldn't back up Caldwell, Rosenthal said, because there is no reason why a Times reporter shouldn't be willing to "authenticate" his stories. Rosen-

thal did not attempt to answer Caldwell's contention that his credibility, his promise to protect sources, and his ability to function in the Black community would be destroyed if he testified behind the closed doors of a grand jury room where the public would have no way of knowing what questions he was answering.

A recently formed organization of Black journalists called the National Association of Black Media Workers adopted a program of support for Earl Caldwell at its first conference in Jefferson City Mo. The Media Workshop and a group of journalists called Black Perspectives will carry on the battle in New York.

Liberation News Service

## IN ORDER FOR BLACK PEOPLE TO ACHIEVE THEIR BASIC NEEDS AND DESIRES THEY MUST FIRST RELATE TO THE BASIC RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE

The time when Black people sought to acquire their basic needs and desires non-violently are long gone. The murder of Dr. King clearly revealed to Black people that they had no rights which the White man was bound to respect. This fact manifested itself recently with the acquittal of two White racists who had viciously murdered brother Henry D. Marrow, a twenty three year old married father of one in Oxford, N.C. The all White racist jury took less than 24 hours to acquit these yellow racist perverted pigs who had shotgassed the brother, crippling both of his legs, then shot him through the head at point blank range, killing him instantly. The brother was never at any time armed, clearly showing no justification for his murder.

This cowardly act of wanton murder of our people was carried out in the eyes of dozens of members of the Black community who went to court and testified as to the fact that the brother was shot in the head as he was trying to crawl away from his racist murderers.

Acts of murder and brutality being inflicted upon Black people is nothing new to Black people. An examination of the history of

Black people since our forced migration to this racist infested country has seen over fifty million Black people murdered without justification.

Recently here in Winston-Salem, a fifteen year old brother by the name of George Caldwell was brutally beaten by cowardly pigs who pulled out riot pump shotguns on brothers and sisters who rushed to the brother's aid as he was being beaten. Less than a week later a sixteen year old sister was beaten and maced after being kidnapped by racist pigs itching to murder unarmed Black people who were watching.

Attacks such as these are evidence that in order for Black people to achieve their basic needs and desires they have to first relate to the basic right of all people and that is the right to protect oneself whenever attacked. The Black Panther Party advocates that people should arm themselves for self-defense.

HOW LONG, HOW LONG!  
POWER GROWS OUT OF THE  
BARREL OF A GUN!  
SEIZE THE TIME!

## WINSTON-SALEM N.C.C.F. STARTS FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Necessities such as food, clothing and housing should be provided for every individual from the day he is born. These are things that everybody needs in order to survive. Yet because we live in a society where a few people own the things that everybody needs, some people can't survive. We question, why should a few be overflowing with wealth and others suffer because they don't have. We say that if these necessities are distributed equally then everybody will survive.

everybody can live comfortably. Since we don't live in a society where this is true the N.C.C.F. of Winston-Salem has implemented a Free Clothing Program to provide clothes for those people in the community that don't have. The program started August 1, 1970; on that day 50 to 75 people from the community came to get clothes.

CLOTHING, ONE OF THE BASIC  
NECESSITIES, ALL OF IT BE-  
LONGS TO THE PEOPLE!

## LUMPEN SURVIVAL: JUCHE

"The Lumpen are all those who have no secure relationship or vested interest in the means of production and the institutions of capitalist society". (excerpt from the Ideology of The Black Panther Party by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information).

never been given a chance to fully develop, the reason being that street life demands such negative qualities as individualism, mistrust, and is rife with the profit motive (capitalism).

Due to the efforts of revolutionary comrades on all

same people on the last rung on the ladder of society that history will record as the vanguard of the proletariat. And it is with the claiming of their rightful social heritage that will bring the fascist dictators of Babylon to their well deserved graves!

One of the brothers, Jimmy, who served in the pigs' military years ago as a cook now turns his skills to the needs of the community. Jimmy's philosophy is not abstract or sickeningly complex; he simply saw a need among his people and moved on it. These niggers didn't discuss it over a conference table or engage in idiot struggles over whose going to head what department, or like the petty bourgeois intellectuals who talk about pros and cons, make trips to Washington to rally support, get government funds or grants, and they certainly had no desire to act as lobbyist to some demagogic pig politician in order to "serve the people."

The lumpen move on the instinct of survival and it is these people whom we can rely on in time of all out armed confrontation. These niggers understand that the logic of capitalism is: "He who has



THE LUMPEN

## BROTHERS AND SISTERS OFF THE BLOCK

The lumpen by the very nature of their existence have been denied everything. They have been stripped of even the most basic human right—the right to live, produce, and make their rightful creative contribution to society, the world, and history. The lumpen (descendants of the field niggers of chattel slavery) live strictly on a day to day basis, and as many will tell you home is where night fall catches me. Though the lumpen are looked down on by other strata of society, and are subjected to titles such as "bums", "loafers", "thugs" etc., they (the lumpen) have profound creativity borne of the harshness of their existence. This creativity, deep as it maybe, goes totally unacknowledged by other less oppressed sectors of Babylonian life. The people who look contemptuously at the lumpen, are the same people who attempt to emulate the life styles of "Leave It to Beaver", and "Doones Reed" in vain efforts at transcending racial/class barriers, rather than wholly eradicating them.

Much of the lumpen population consist of the "illegitimate capitalists", those who exist off whatever they are able to obtain through methods deemed illicit by super gangsters and criminals of the power structure. However, many have socialist tendencies that have

levels, the people are at long last beginning to put into practice socialism that is in conformity with the conditions of urbanized Babylon. The situation I am speaking of specifically can be found in a vacant lot on the corner of 84th and East 14th Oakland, California. Some lumpen, righteous field niggers, have implemented a real socialist program that deals with the most fundamental factor of all, food. Smoke can be seen rising from the lot three time a day as food is being prepared for the lumpen community. The meal is not a delicacy, but the food that comes off that stove made from scrap metal, and fueled by wood is basic, nourishing filling, and very tasty. As always, the fascist dog pig told these brothers who are trying to bring some ray of light into their bleak existence that you can't feed people outside because of some stupid, irrelevant city ordinance that says in effect that the people can't have an open fire. These brothers, being the lumpen that they are, told the pigs in so many words that their fire can never be put out.

This nameless program that feeds people is a prime example of the humanitarianism displayed by those who don't even have a place to call home, thanks to this wretched system of dehumanization, exploitation, and murder. It is these



BROTHER JIMMY

nothing shall have less, and that which he has left shall be taken away from him", for they are victims of it. THE LUMPEN SHALL CONDUCT THEIR STRUGGLE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STREETS!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
EAST OAKLAND COMMUNITY  
CENTER

## ULTIMATUM: EITHER FIGHT IN THE PIGS ARMY, OR GO TO JAIL!

We know that the only reason these pigs are in our community is to brutalize and murder us. In order for these fools to implement this genocidal plot against us, various tactics are employed.

Today, Black people have come to recognize the majority of these moves made against us for exactly what they are. That is, for the most part, we can see very clearly how and why these pigs move against us.

One attempted genocidal tactic employed today, which may not be so easily recognizable, is the use of Black men as cannon fodder in the avaricious wars of these greedy pigs.

Recently, in Roxbury, an 18 year old brother was charged with breaking and entering into the store of one of the greedy, racist capitalists in our community. As a result of this "criminal" act, he was given a choice by these pigs: either voluntarily join the military and agree to fight in the pigs' army, or submit to being impris-

oned. This type of ultimatum is being handed down quite regularly in our community, to young brothers who pass through these pigs' courts. A blood who is paranoid or has been so programmed about "going to prison" may see this "choice" as an out for himself. And this is just the attitude the pigs want to instill in him.

These "decrepit old witches" have things so planned that if they can't rip off brothers in the street then they can always send them to places like Vietnam or Cambodia and have them killed in an "act of war."

The Black Panther Party says in our platform and program that, "We want all Black men to be exempt from military service." What we are saying is that it is a contradiction for Black men to fight in the fascist forces of Babylon, to inflict U.S. imperialism abroad and at the same time, attempt to defend our communities from the fascist brutality of the same racist forces here "in-

side the belly of the beast."

So, what we have to say to these fools is that we want no part of your compromises. We are not so afraid of your jails that we can be co-opted into fighting against a people who are exploited and oppressed in the same manner and by the same forces as Black people in this country. And also, we refuse to submit in any way to any of your criminal attempts to commit genocide against us. Rather, we promise to join the military forces of the people's army and wage a war of National Salvation and total destruction to all pigs who occupy our Black communities in Babylon and fight capitalist wars of aggression abroad.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

DEATH TO THE FASCISTS!

Diana

Boston Chapter  
Black Panther Party

## BROTHER JAMES THOMPSON MURDERED BY RACIST, FASCIST PIGS IN HARLEM

James Thompson "Tee" of 225 W. 129th st. spoke out loud against the war in Vietnam and black oppression, "Tee" was shot and killed by fascist pigs.

Friday night, July 31st, at approximately 11:30, James Thompson, 23, was registering a verbal complaint about the racism and fascism that is so prevalent here in racist Babylon, in front of the Sakarak Lounge between 129th and 130th st. on 8th Ave. Two fascist gestapo pigs (one black the other white) Ralph Sommer, 29, and Samuel Johnson, 40, drove up and opened fire without warning from the car. The nigger pig shot first, twice without warning from the car, then his White master felt he had the right to do it too, says seven eyewitnesses to the murder. (Names are withheld due to the animalistic nature of the pigs.) A total of 9 shots were fired.

The pigs in a vain attempt to justify what they had done in their vicious and premeditated murder of "Tee", made this report on the incident: James Thompson was causing a disturbance and brandishing a knife. Thompson charged them and slashed Sommer on the wrist. Both officers then fired a total of 7 shots dropping Thompson to the street. Thompson then got up again, two more shots were fired and he dropped.

There's a peoples version and a pigs version. I'm more inclined to believe the people's version because the pigs version just doesn't gel. Why? 1.) Seven eyewitnesses say that the pigs fired from the car without warning. The pigs say they got out of their car and ordered him to stop shouting drop the knife.

2.) The people say the pigs shot the brother in the head first and he dropped then they continued to shoot him in the upper part of his body. "Tee" never got up. The pigs say they had to shoot the brother a total of seven times before he fell and then "Tee" got back up, charged them again and it took two more shots to down him. Which in itself is a contradiction. 3.) the pigs say "Tee" charged them and slashed one of them on the wrist at which time they opened fire and fired a total of seven shots. Tee got up again afterward. This is beyond belief because from the range at which the pigs fired and dealing with the fact that the New York pig dept. carries 38's, 45's or .357's as pack pieces. One shot would have finished him. Pigs who are you trying to fool?

We the people deem this act of the New York Pig Dept. murder in the first degree and find pigs Ralph Sommer and Samuel Johnson guilty of carrying out

this brutal act against the people. The conviction is in and the sentence is death and it will be carried out in levels or stages.

The first stage was carried out on Saturday, August 1, 1970, at approximately 6:00 p.m. The brothers off the block ripped off two pigs, beat them, took their guns and badges and left them left them lay. "Right on J.C. you're a had revolutionary." This is and was only the first stage of the sentence. Everyday we'll move to a higher level.

So to pigs a word of advice, when you walk down the streets at night make sure it's in threes and fours because two won't work anymore. When you go out to eat make sure you carry a taster along, when you take a bath make sure it's water in the tub. When you ventured out at all you'd better have a bullet-proof shield for your head, cause we're ready with everything from lye to lead, and for the "salvation, liberation and freedom of our people we won't hesitate to either kill or die".

DEATH TO ALL FASCIST PIGS!

SEIZE THE TIME!

Bernice Jones  
Harlem Branch  
Black Panther Party

## WELFARE OPPRESSION IN MOUNT VERNON, N.Y.

The end of last month, a sister by the name of Dorothy Earl came into the Black Panther Party community information center, located at 45-B East 3rd street, Mount Vernon, New York for help. She had been seeking help from the local Welfare Department here in Mount Vernon ever since she and her four children came here from Georgia. Mrs. Earl has been staying with her sister since she arrived. As she could not find a job right away she went to the Welfare Department for help. At that time she could no longer stay with her sister, since it was crowded.

When Dorothy went to the Welfare Department for help, they assigned her a case worker and gave her \$142.00 to hold her over until they could get her a place to live which they promised to do as soon as possible. They promised the sister that they would move on getting her a place and would give her a check starting on July 2nd Dorothy never received a check nor did she get a place to live. She went back to the Welfare Department to inquire as to why she hadn't received the check or place as promised. They gave the sister the run around and told her that she would get the check and a place and again gave her more money to hold her over until they move on this, the sister was give \$50.00 which was to hold her for the week end.

Dorothy set out to look for a place of shelter for her and her family. The sister found a place an apartment with four rooms. She called her case worker and related this to him (Mr. Sacchetti) he told her that he didn't think that the place was suitable for her without even attempting to look at it. At this point the sister didn't know what to do or who she could ask for help. So she sent two of four children back to Georgia to live with her family until she could find a place for them, she thought that this would be best for them. But, this didn't work out for Dorothy either because the sister that she was living with needed the room for her family which meant that the sister had to continue to look for a place to live. She called Mr. Sacchetti and told him again of her situation, that she needed a place and food for her children. This was July 10th the case worker told her that he couldn't do anything about her situation and again gave her the run around telling her that she would have to wait until next week. This is when Dorothy came to us for help and told us her situation and right away we got on the case to investigate and found out why this sister couldn't get any help from these fools. Defense Captain Eddie Hull set out to get the sister a place to stay and some money from the Welfare Department; he went there with the sister to inquire as to why they had given the sister the run around and wouldn't get her a place to stay. When he first approached them

they tried to give him the run around so he told them who he was and that he was there to represent this sister and see that she got her rights. A right to have them help her get a place to live and money for food. They told him that they couldn't do this or anything right then. Eddie told them that he knew that it was a law that they had to get this sister a place if it meant getting her a hotel room and he also asked him the (case worker) why they hadn't sent the sister the check as promised Mr. Sacchetti went and checked the sister record and it seemed that they hadn't even made any move to get Dorothy a place or check where she could move on her own to get a place to live.

Dorothy's case is not an isolated incident, it is a historical fact that Black people have always sought refuge and better jobs in the North only to find when they get here that it is the same existing racial oppression only more deceitful and in a disguise of nice smiles. We understand that until our people are educated they will continue to fall into the trap of running from one form of oppression because the oppressor has not seen it fit to create enough jobs for its people, therefore forcing them to beg for their basic necessities ( food, bread, clothing, housing, justice and peace.) The created Welfare system will never meet the basic needs of the poor and oppressed people until the people rise up and demand that which is rightfully theirs, a equal share of the wealth of this country based on to each according to his need and ability to produce.

The Black Panther Party has set out to educate the people on all levels of oppression and the necessity to move against the oppressor and his oppressive forces. We have to constantly deal with defeatist attitudes among our people because they still have some hangups about moving against these fools who oppress us daily. They feel that it would be a "non-violent" move to do this but, we can't talk about "non-violence" when those who oppress us do not practice it. The people must come to understand that when we talk about moving against those who oppress us daily this is not violent. It's violent when we go these fools and ask them for food and clothing for our children and they refuse, it's violent when we beg for shelter and it is denied us. Because it is the right of every man, woman and child to have the best that man and technology can give. Therefore, we must become a united people North, South, East and West and deal a final blow to the oppressor and its oppressive forces!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!

Rivera  
Black Community Information  
Center

## RACIST WINSTON-SALEM SCHOOL BOARD PLAN FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION MEANS TERROR FOR BLACK CHILDREN

The racist Winston-Salem school board headed by mad-dog Maresady, and backed by the local fascist pig force (Tucker's raiders) has hatched a school desegregation plan, which they have submitted to the State Court. They (the school board) want behind closed doors with those that would profit most from government funds (the tobacco industry) that will come pouring in once a desegregation plan is submitted and implemented, to put this stupid scheme together. The plan they came out with was so disgusting - even they (the school board) say they could not approve it - but will submit it anyway. LIARS - how could they submit something neither they nor the people of Winston-Salem can approve of anyway if they are serving the best interest of the people.

This plan closes two of the 3 remaining high schools in the Black community (Carver School and Anderson, leaving only one Black high school - Atkins). & the plan

proposes to bus Black students to the all white high schools, Parkland, East Forsyth and North Forsyth (remember when that racist pulled that shotgun on Blacks last year at North?) We can look for the same and possibly more insane actions this year.

As far as the grammar schools, they will cluster grades 1, 2 and 3 (this clustering process busses our kids out and white kids in - this will be done in such a fashion that in most grammar schools including those in our community, whites would be in the majority and Blacks in the minority. This is very dangerous because our kids at that young age will come to believe live that racist teachers will try to feed them in these schools about them not being able to change their oppressive conditions because they are in the minority. Black people BEWARE of the effect this move will have on our kids!!!

All of this bussing is supposed to take place - tell us Maresady

where are these busses coming from? Isn't it true that the County cannot, according to State law, buy busses for your dumb plan? We think you should know Black people DO NOT want Carver and Anderson closed and we ARE NOT going to place our kids lives in jeopardy as we did last year - for those mad KKK's to try to intimidate and murder. If you persist in your mad scheme we will make you see the folly of your stupid plan.

We are saying that we see through all the lies and games; that we are tired of this crap and will not indulge in the madness any longer. Stop this madness now or face chaos in the coming school year. We want Community Control of our schools and we will have this BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Kathy H.

Black Panther Party



July 1967. Minister of Defense, Hon. Earl Warren (right) and Chairman, Bobby Seale (left), reading an early edition of B.P.P. Newspaper at the home of Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information B.P.P.

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PLEASE MAIL CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO: MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY, Box 2067, Station House, San Francisco, CA 94126

*Huey would say,  
"a newspaper is  
the voice of a party,  
the voice of the  
Panther must be  
heard throughout  
the land."*



## A LETTER FROM HUEY TO THE REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS AND SISTERS ABOUT THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

During the past few years, strong movements have developed among women and among homosexuals seeking their liberation. There has been some uncertainty about how to relate to these movements.

Whatever your personal opinions and your insecurities about homosexuality and the various liberation movements among homosexuals and women (and I speak of the homosexuals and women as oppressed groups), we should try to unite with them in a revolutionary fashion. I say "whatever your insecurities are" because, as we very well know sometimes our first instinct is to want to hit a homosexual in the mouth and want a woman to be quiet. We want to hit the homosexual in the mouth because we're afraid we might be homosexual; and we want to hit the woman or shut her up because we're afraid that she might castrate us, or take the nuts that we might not have to start with.

We must gain security in ourselves and therefore have respect and feelings for all oppressed people. We must not use the racist type attitude like the White racists use against people because they are Black and poor. Many times the poorest White person is the most racist, because he's afraid that he might lose something, or discover something that he doesn't have; you're some kind of threat to him. This kind of psychology is in operation when we view oppressed people and we're angry with them because of their particular kind of behavior, or their particular kind of deviation from the established norm.

Remember, we haven't established a revolutionary value system; we're only in the process of establishing it. I don't remember us ever constituting any value that said that a revolutionary must say offensive things towards homosexuals, or that a revolutionary should make sure that women do not speak out about their own particular kind of oppression. Matter of fact it's just the opposite: we say that we recognize the women's right to be free. We haven't said much about the homosexual at all, and we must relate to the homosexual movement because it's a real thing. And I know through reading and through my life experience, my observations, that homosexuals are not given freedom and liberty by anyone in the society. Maybe they might be the most oppressed people in the society.

And what made them homosexual? Perhaps it's a whole phenomena that I don't understand entirely. Some people say that it's the decadence of capitalism. I don't know whether this is the case; I rather doubt it. But whatever the case is, we know that homosexuality is a fact that exists, and we must understand it in its purest form: That is, a person should have freedom to use his body in whatever way he wants to. That's not endorsing things in homosexuality that we wouldn't view as revolutionary. But there's nothing to say that a homosexual cannot also be a revolutionary.



SUPREME COMMANDER, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

And maybe I'm now injecting some of my prejudice by saying that "even a homosexual can be a revolutionary." Quite on the contrary, maybe a homosexual could be the most revolutionary.

When we have revolutionary conferences, rallies and demonstrations there should be full participation of the gay liberation movement and the women's liberation movement. Some groups might be more revolutionary than others. We shouldn't use the actions of a few to say that they're all reactionary or counterrevolutionary, because they're not.

We should deal with the factions just as we deal with any other group or party that claims to be revolutionary. We should try to judge somehow, whether they're operating sincerely, in a revolutionary fashion, from a really oppressed situation. (And we'll grant that if they're women, they're probably oppressed.) If they do things that are un-revolutionary or counter-revo-

lutionary, then criticize that action. If we feel that the group in spirit means to be revolutionary in practice, but they make mistakes in interpretation of the revolutionary philosophy, or they don't understand the dialectics of the social forces in operation, we should criticize that and not criticize them because they're women trying to be free. And the same is true for homosexuals. We should never say a whole movement is dishonest, when in fact they're trying to be honest, they're just making honest mistakes. Friends are allowed to make mistakes. The enemy is not allowed to make mistakes because his whole existence is a mistake, and we suffer from it. But the women's liberation front and gay liberation front are our friends, they are potential allies, and we need as many allies as possible.

We should be willing to discuss the insecurities that many people have about homosexuality. When I say "insecurities", I mean the fear that they're some kind of threat to our manhood. I can understand this fear. Because of the long conditioning process which builds insecurity in the American male, homosexuality might produce certain hangups in us. I have hangups myself about male homosexuality. Where, on the other hand, I have no hangup about female homosexuality. And that's phenomena in itself. I think it's probably because male homosexuality is a threat to me, maybe and the females are no threat.

We should be careful about using those terms that might turn our friends off. The terms "faggot" and "punk" should be deleted from our vocabulary, and especially we should not attach names normally designed for homosexuals to men who are enemies of the people, such as Nixon or Mitchell. Homosexuals are not enemies of the people.

We should try to form a working coalition with the Gay liberation and Women's liberation groups. We must always handle social forces in the most appropriate manner. And this is really a significant part of the population both women, and the growing number of homosexuals that we have to deal with.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

Huey P. Newton,  
SUPREME COMMANDER,  
Black Panther Party



## WASHINGTON STATE FREE BUSSING PROGRAM

The Black Panther Party has established the free bussing program throughout the state of Washington. The purpose for this is to visit the brothers and sisters in prisons, state and federal institutions to establish a close relationship between the community and the prisoners. Then the community can find out the specific case of these brothers and check out the parole board and see how racist it is. We found out that many families and friends cannot afford transportation to these prisons. So the families can't visit their loved ones. The result is that the prisoners feel that no one even cares about them thus leaving them at the mercy of those sadistic pigs in prison.

Saturday July 11, 1970, The Black Panther Party along with members of the community gathered in front of the Community Information Center to go to Monroe Prison. The people were very happy with the bussing program because it provided free transportation, enabling them to visit their relatives being held in the prison. It also gives a chance to establish some type of communication between the community and the prisoners. Some of the women helped prepare the food for lunch. We talked on the way there about the prisons and what type of treatment the brothers are receiving.

Many of the brothers that are railroaded to prison don't even have hearings. The trials are brief and one sided. These cases are exactly what the Black Panther Party's 10 Point Platform states; we want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried by a jury of their peer group or someone from their community as defined in the Constitution of the United States. All of the brothers and sisters who have been brought to trial, were not judged by a jury of their peer group. In fact we are usually at the mercy of racists and bigots who have no understanding of the average Black man in the Black community; the two situations are different as

day and night. After the brothers trials they are sent to prisons with ridiculous sentences. For example, a brother we know is serving a 6 year prison term for allegedly carrying an illegal weapon. He didn't kill anybody, he wasn't threatening anybody, and he didn't rob anybody. The brother didn't even have a gun in his possession when he was snatched off the streets. A case such as this brother's is only one in a thousand. He didn't have a jury of his peer group. His case shows just how corrupt this country's judicial system is. It is not only a very racist system but very corrupt and unbalanced. About six years ago a young Black man by the name of Bonnie Dinish was murdered. The man who did it only got a year and a half for his crime. Now how in the hell is somebody going to get away with killing a man serving only a year and a half. When a Black man gets six years for supposedly carrying a fire arm. You can get more time robbing bank than you can for taking a human life. So that just shows the people that this government puts more value on money and materials than on human life. Oppressed people have no rights that the oppressor is bound to respect.

So Black people had better wake up to all of the fascism that is running rampant throughout Babylon. In many cases a lot of prisoners are tortured because they refuse to accept the inhumane conditions that are thrown upon them. They are ill fed; the food is infested with worms; it is spoiled and no good. It is a daily experience for brothers to be thrown in the hole for days, weeks at a time. Some of the people are teaching community workers to help establish a strong firm bussing program. So within a short while we will have drawn up a weekly bussing schedule to present to the community

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
SEIZE THE BUSES, FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

## PIGS SHOOT BROTHER IN FACE KILLING HIM INSTANTLY



PIG  
WILLIAM E. TUCKER

During a search for a purse snatcher, a young Black brother by the name of Earl Howard was pointed out by the victim (who was riding around in the pig car) as the accomplice. He was then arrested and they continued the search for the other suspect. The victim was returned to her car where the incident had happened



PIG ROBERT LANGE

and the pigs resumed their search. The pigs said that the brother had used abusive language, so that at the rear of an alley the brother was asked to get out of the car. Many who saw this said that the pig began to punch the brother in his ribs and face (this pig was Black). In an effort to protect himself the brother began to block

## THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The basic human right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness guaranteed in the present American Constitution has and still is being refused to Black and other oppressed people. This present day Constitution tends to apply only to those who hold a "superb position" in this society (those filthy rich businessmen and "fork" tongued politicians) excluding ex-

clusively the poor and oppressed. The Constitution and the laws of the land serve the interest of those who control this society and not those being controlled.

In fact, these controllers are the great, great grandpigs of the racist foul hogs who wrote the mess. Where they got the audacity to pull this jive on the people must lie beneath the mud they wallow in. They (the pigs) actually expect the people to respect laws that do not respect us. To do that would be to willingly accept injustice. This we must not and will never do.

If we are to remain in this country we will need laws. Laws

that respect us all, that serve our interest and guarantee our human rights. Realizing this along with the actual condition here, the Black Panther Party calls for a "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention," for the purpose of writing a Constitution that is relevant to us all and is truly of the people, for the people and by you the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Gerald Wood

Washington, D.C. Chapter  
Black Panther Party



some of the blows. The pig reported that the youth began to fight him back and make threatening movements toward him. At this point, the Black pig drew his gun and (he reports) he lost his balance after backing into the car; and shot the brother in his face killing him instantly.

The pigs then called the Homicide Division and reported that they had found a body in an alley on the West Side. The other pig (White) declined to make any statement. He did, however, agree with the other pig up to the point of when the brother was asked out of the pig car in the alley. Both pigs were released after so-called extensive questioning on \$5000.00 bond each.

What if a brother had "ACCIDENTALLY" shot a pig?? The community should have control over these so-called public servants. Do you know any Earl Howards in your city who just seem to be "accidentally" shot up by these pigs?

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

JIMMY LEE  
JAMESJESSE LEE  
PHILIPSROOSEVELT  
WILLIAMS

"DOC"



JERRY COLEMAN



O.C. ALLEN

WAYMON HALL

ALFRED DUNN

J.C. SHEFFEDL

LA FRANCE WHITE

JAMES WAGNER

WALTER WATKING

JOHN WASHINGTON

WALTER JOE WATSON

JEROME MILLER

## THE SOLEDAD 15

### NEXT VICTIMS OF POLITICAL FASCISM

Inside the double gates of California "Correctional Institutions"...known to the masses of people as concentration camps or pig pens, ultra capitalism, ultra racism, and ultra injustice reigns. Within the walls of Soledad the contradictions are quite clear. Demarcation lines are definitely drawn between the pigs and the people. The heightening of the contradictions have become so strong, the walls are beginning to vibrate with the frustrating tensions on the verge of explosion.

The proclaimed purpose of any institutionalized pig pen is to rehabilitate or resocialize the brothers who find themselves within their decadent walls. For the brothers this can only mean to passively accept the conditions the masses are faced with daily... poor housing, high prices, low-paying or often times non-existing jobs and of course the continual genocidal attacks on our communities by the local fascist arm of this society...the pig.

The characteristics of this fascist country is manifested in the programs and attitudes of the guards and administrators who act as "keepers of the law". In many state institutions, inmates are

forced to make clothes, shoes, jewelry, handbags, etc. which are re-tagged and sold on the outside for a large profit for the state. Products the inmates make themselves are sold at four times the value in little stands within the prisons. The inmates receiving only a part of the profit. This is just one example of man's exploitation of man on a lower level.

Exploitation on the one hand and harassment and brutalization on the other are emphasized and condoned. Tensions build to a climax as the guards perpetuate racism, produce these same attitudes and instigate any and all conflicts between inmate and guard and inmate and inmate. After an instigated fight between Chicano and White, or Black and the Chicano... brothers are shipped out left and right with no warning or notice. The constant harassment by the fascist guards who show no concern nor respect for the brothers human rights are enough to make any man go insane, especially when the pigs start messing with his mail and his visits from family and friends. Already in the pig pen for trumped-up charges, and

constantly being given unjust sentences, brothers face additional cases of assault to murder. Brothers considered too vocal or friendly finds themselves in the hole incommunicado with no privileges. They're at the mercy of a superintendent, who can let them out or keep them in for any length of time.

There's now 15 brothers from Los Angeles county who are being held in the hole in the old wing of Soledad. They are under suspicion for the murder of a guard in the North side (the last incident which took place within this dungeon). These brothers are given no change of clothing, no shoes, no privileges, no deodorant, no toothpaste, no exercise, with the exception of a ten minute shower every five days. The "hole" is a small 7 X 5 cell in which they are locked up 24 hours and sometimes even the limited communication between each other is prohibited. All their property has been taken away and they are harassed constantly by the D.A. and prison administrators to take lie-detector test.

On Tuesday, August 4th, this attempted railroading was ex-

posed, as an anonymous letter reached the mother of one of the 15 brothers. Mrs. Bessie Phillips of 6005, Bullis Rd. in Compton, California decided to call upon the Black Panther Party for help. This started a chain of events, culminating in efforts to contact the families of the other brothers. Attempts have been blocked and sometimes aborted, but slowly the parents and love ones have been notified and warned of this latest plan to snuff out the lives of some strong revolutionaries. The brothers, spirits lifted by the efforts made on the outside to stop this judicial hanging, have intensified their resistance by calling for a hunger strike. Presently being held incommunicado are:

(Although the witnesses said he wasn't inside when the shooting occurred, he was still sentenced to life in prison.) O.C. Allen, 25 years old, was due for parole three weeks ago, instead was thrown into the hole. Waymon Hall, 22 years old, was sentenced for so-called strongarm robbery. Roosevelt Williams Jr., 27 years old, victim of the courts on a so-called robbery charge. Jimmy Lee James, 23 years old, although he

had a alibi witness, who testified he was sick at the time of an alleged robbery, was convicted and sentenced to one to life in prison. Jerry Coleman, 23 years old, is being held on an armed robbery charge. Other brothers being held are Alfred Dunn, J. L. Sheffedl, LaFrance White, Jerome Miller, Walter Joe Watson, John Washington, Walter Watkins and James Wagner.

They sit locked up for twenty-four hours while the fascist dogs are attempting to concoct a case, exposing to the people once again the states goal of genocide for all oppressed people. They are victims of the "death raffle" that has attempted to rip off other revolutionaries. It is time to pull our brothers from the depths of these dirty holes to the light of freedom and revolution. It is time to strike out against all lackeys, pigs and fools who stand in our way and to fight for liberation and freedom of all Black and oppressed people.

LIBERATE THE SOLEDAD 15  
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
So. California Chapter

### BUSSING PROGRAM TO SOLEDAD PRISON

Prisons are nothing more than concentration camps for the thousand of brothers who are incarcerated throughout this country. The pig officials, in their attempt to prevent brothers from communicating with the outside world, make certain that the brothers are imprisoned in distant places, or they shortstop letters from them to someone on the streets. The pigs mainly do this in order to destroy the brothers' faith in the masses of the people and to keep them unaware of what's happening in this decadent country.

Recent attempts to railroad brothers vocal in their demands for humane treatment while withholding their fascist walls further clarify the need for contact with the masses on the outside.

The Black Panther Party, in moving forth to fulfill the basic needs and desires of oppressed people, have initiated a free bussing program which provides transportation to prisons for those people having loved ones who are political prisoners in these fascist prisons. On Sunday, August 9, approximately forty persons participated in the Black Panther

Party bus trip to Soledad State Prison. The bus left Los Angeles at 3:00 a.m. and arrived at Soledad about 8:15 a.m. At this time breakfast was served, and after eating, the people visited the brothers until 3:00 p.m. After visiting hours were over, everyone returned to the bus and had dinner. While riding back, the people relaxed, ate snacks, read the Black Panther Party newspaper, and talked about their exchange of information with the brothers held there.

The question of success is never raised--success is measured by the response of the brothers who share precious moments of communication with their loved ones.

The political prisoners at Soledad said, "right on", to the free bussing program and that they think it is a beautiful program. To the political prisoners at Soledad we say "right on" and we will continue to have free bussing programs until the wall of these fascist prisons come tumbling down.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
So. California Chapter



# THE PENTAGON... THE BABYLONIAN WAR MACHINE... THE MILITARY- ECONOMIC POLITICAL FOUNDATION OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE



THE PENTAGON

The Pentagon is in a profound state of anxiety, rage and fear. They realize that no war machine can - but for so long - survive in the face of defeat on the battle field, an economy that is suffering from a recession (bottom falling out) and inflation (top blowing off); bitter racial animosities and class antagonisms exploding in the nation; rebellion within the military establishment, etc.

We are witnessing the dissolution and collapse of the "American empire". We are witnessing the beginning of the end. However to think for one moment that the "American empire" will simply crumble and fall without the rulers of that empire attempting to preserve its existence by taking whatever maniacal steps that it might deem necessary is an inexcusable folly that will in effect result in sheer reactionary suicide.

It must be fully understood that to deprive any imperialist nation of its ability to wage successful wars is equivalent to depriving it of its very existence. This is especially true in the case of America; for its entire economy is based upon the production of goods for military purposes. A brief explanation may help in gaining some understanding of this state of affairs...The "Babylonian War Machine" is far more than simply the military es-

tablishment...Far more than simply that...The "Babylonian War Machine" is in fact the most colossal and blood-thirsty Ogre that ever stalked the planet, not only militarily, but also economically. Militarily the Legions of Rome, Attila the Hun, the Mongolian hordes of Genghis Khan, and the Nazi "Blitzkrieg" army, look like peace demonstrations compared to the "Babylonian War Machine" and economically its wealth would make the Pharaohs of Egypt, the Sultans of Baghdad, and the Popes of the Vatican, look like welfare recipients...The Babylonian War Machine is the military-economic-political foundation of the American empire...It is a nucleus of power, made up of an interlocking network of "super-rich" industrialists, and financiers, powerful politicians and the military establishment which constitutes its backbone and singularly most powerful component part. At their command and disposal is the entire economic wealth of the nation in the form of land, natural resources, the means of industrial production, utilities, transportation facilities and human beings. To serve in carrying out their ends, they employ a vast array of smaller politicians, businessmen, bureaucrats, advertising men, public relations personnel, lobbyists,

writers, journalists, technicians, scientists, labor unions, large sections of the working class, so-called educators and clergymen and others.

At the apex of this pyramidal structure is an aggregation (amount; number) of the most fiendishly diabolical, paranoid, power-crazed and murderous beasts assembled in the annals of history. In terms of military might and destructive capabilities they have surpassed the wildest dreams that ever danced in the depraved mind of Adolf Hitler. They have at their disposal every conceivable implement of human destruction. They have in fact already employed everything from handguns to lethal nerve gas to gigantic flame-throwers to the Atomic bomb and if they deem its use necessary they have multiple war head intercontinental ballistic missiles and the hydrogen bomb. They have in four years unloaded more bombs upon a small Asian nation (Vietnam) than all those dropped in Europe during World War II, and they have massacred over a million human beings in that same country in less than a decade. They are dedicated to the proposition that "might makes right" and that any person, group or nation that resists the imposition of their will upon them should be purged from the planet. They are totally devoid of any sense of human compassion or moral consciousness.

Immediately beneath them is a group of vampires - disguised as human beings - who have amassed unimaginable wealth by way of merciless plunder, ruthless exploitation, vile treachery and deceit and the shameless enslavement of entire nations of people. An insatiable lust for wealth constitutes their reason for being, and being has no meaning without wealth. They evaluate all that exists in terms of profit and loss, and whatever need be done to maximize profits and minimize loss, they will not hesitate to do. They look upon all humanity and all the universe as existing solely for their exploitation. Regardless how horrendous and despicable a crime might be if it brings them profits, it is not only justified but noble and praiseworthy. They have at their disposal all of the advantages of modern technology to assist them in their endless quest for wealth.

Together these two groups represent the absolute epitome of evil. They are the leaders of the military establishment and the "super rich" capitalists of America.

Rights after World War II they decided to form an alliance for the purpose of facilitating the attainment of their individual and mutual ends, namely: world military and economic domination. As a result of many complex and interacting domestic and international developments of social, political, and economic origin, their alliance has become solidified to such an extent that their interests are now inextricably intertwined, one cannot exist without the other. The "super-rich" capitalists by way of experience realized that the greatest profits were made during times of war; they concluded that if a state of permanent war could be maintained there was literally no limit to the wealth that could be accumulated. They therefore dedicated the greater part of production to supplying the needs of the military market. The military establishment in its turn was busy provoking wars, creating training and supplying armies in the neo-colonized countries in Asia, Africa, and South America, attempting to suppress revolutionary movement throughout the world; the maintaining of over 3,300 U.S. military installations in foreign countries and 6,500 at home, with a standing armed

forces of 3.5 million men; staging coups and over-throwing what they define as being "communist backed governments" among countless other things. In order to carry all these operations out the "U.S. Defense Department" has an annual budget of over 80 billion dollars (almost half the national budget). Since war is the necessary pre-condition for the justification of maintaining and further developing the military budget and establishment, the military establishment makes certain that there will be a wargong on somewhere in the world from which the military and the "super-capitalists" can profit. Simplistically put, the astronomical profits are made by this procedure: Military goods are manufactured. These goods (everything from boots to bombers to enormous weapons systems like the A.B.M. and M.I.F.V. to space ships) are expendable in nature, that is, they are made to be destroyed and then made again and destroyed and made again in a perpetual cycle. Some of the goods are sold to foreign countries, where they are destroyed in armed conflicts or training and then replaced. Other military goods and equipment become obsolete as a result of new technological advancements, when this happens they are replaced with more advanced equipment (i.e. over 20 billion dollars has been spent building missiles that become outdated before use). Each step of the manufacturing, transportation, sale, advertising etc. of the countless military goods made and all the parts needed to make them, results in instant profits being made by the capitalists who control it. The profits are instant because the manufacture of military goods is paid in advance through Defense Department contracts; they in many cases make extra profits by declaring cost overruns. That is stating that the original sum received for whatever reasons given - wasn't enough to fill the contract (i.e. General Dynamics received the contract to manufacture 2,726 F-111 fighter jets for 5.5 billion dollars, because of so-called cost overruns, is now up to 7.5 billion. Lockheed received the contract for the grand C-5A transport jet for 2 billion, now the contract is up to about 4 billion). All of this is done in the name of stopping "communist aggression". The money for it comes out of the pockets of the masses by way of ever rising taxes. The dynamics, causes, methods and history of this phenomenon are far more extensive and complex than the brief illustration offered here of course. This phenomenon has been termed "Pentagonism". The vehicle used to carry it out is the "Babylonian War Machine".

Brother Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party correctly defined Power as being: "the ability to define phenomenon and make it act in a desired manner." In terms of its ability to do that - particularly dominate, manipulate, own and control - the "Babylonian War Machine" is at this juncture the most sinister, powerful force in the world. In a capitalist country of America's magnitude a country where capitalism has not only developed to an unprecedented historical level, but has in fact gone berserk, power is measured in terms of wealth and to that extent the war machine has the greatest wealth, and that wealth is backed up by guns and bombs. The economy of the nation is based on the production of war goods. This is a warfare state. The Babylonian War Machine is the vehicle that propels the economy and the Pentagon sits in the driver's seat.

The power of the Pentagon is far greater than that of the federal government. Contrary to popular belief the presidency of this

country has diminished considerably in actual policy making power over the last 15 years. President Nixon in reality is simply a super-functionary, a glorified flunky. His policy making power is virtually relegated to domestic affairs. When it comes to foreign policy he, for the most part, relays orders to various governmental agencies. In many instances he is not even notified about certain foreign policy activities until after they have been initiated, and then he presents the situation to the population. Because of the prestige that is attached to his office it is taken for granted by the population that the decision to make the move emanated from him, and that is exactly what the population is supposed to think. He is allowed to run the show domestically only because he, in essence, consented to allow the forces of the Pentagon to determine foreign policy. John F. Kennedy was assassinated by the C.I.A. because he attempted to exercise too much power over foreign affairs. His successor Johnson knew exactly what his place was...and he stayed in it. The true rulers of the nation, the men who when push comes to shove make the crucial decisions, are for the most part unknown to the general population. And many of those who are well known are not thought of being as powerful as they actually are.

Some of these groups and individuals are the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (Admiral Thomas Moorer, General Carl Wheeler and William Westmoreland of the Army and General John P. McConnell of the Air Force), Richard Helms; director of the C.I.A. and several other C.I.A. and former C.I.A. men; certain key men in the N.S.A. (National Security Agency) and D.I.A. (Defense Intelligence Agency); there are also several retired high ranking military men who are now employed by large corporations.

Working hand and glove with them are members of the Council of Foreign Relations, and the owners of the largest corporations whose interests are for the most part represented by the Chief executives of the corporations.

There are 22,000 corporations that are considered major defense contractors and there are 100,000 corporations that are sub-contractors. The top ten of this group received 11.6 billion dollars in defense contracts in 1968: General Dynamics; Lockheed; General Electric; United Aircraft; McDonnell - Douglas; American Telephone and Telegraph; Boeing; Lin - Temco Vought; North American Rockwell, and General Motors. These top ten also employ over 1,000 retired high-ranking military men whose main function is to act as advisers and facilitate getting defense contracts for the corporations.

Other corporations whose roles are indispensable in the functioning of the war machine are: Ford Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Mobil Oil, Chrysler Corp., I.B.M., U.S. Steel, Dupont de Nemours (Dupont Corp.); R.C.A.; Goodyear tire and rubber; Union Carbide Corp; Alcon; Dow Chemical; Allied Chemical; Anasconda; and General Food Corp. The chief banks are Bank of America, Chase Manhattan, and First National City. Prudential Life Insurance; John Hancock and Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Rand Research and Development Corp., Stanford Research Institute and the University of California Research Center are key links in the Pentagon chain.

Of the aforementioned (and others not mentioned) corporations and firms, the owners and some of the top executives actually determine government policy (note: the

continued on next page



"CETEWAYO"  
MICHAEL TABOR

continued from last page

## THE PENTAGON... THE BABYLONIAN WAR MACHINE... THE MILITARY- ECONOMIC POLITICAL FOUNDATION OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

large corporations are for the most part owned by families; all of the members of the various families are not policy makers; only the principle ones, i.e. there are about 1,600 DuPonts but only a few of them are policy makers. The owners and executives of the large corporations also sit on the board of directors of corporations aside from their own. One example is Chase Manhattan Bank the board of directors includes the chairman of Standard Oil of Indiana; Metropolitan Life; Penn Central; A.T. and T.; U.S. Steel; General Foods Corp; the President of Anaconda and Allied Chemical and Standard Oil of New Jersey.

Some of the owners of large corporations; executives; government officials; politicians and other members of the Pentagon power structure are: Nelson Rockefeller, governor of N.Y.; David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank; James Stillman Rockefeller President of First National City Bank; Henry Crown; owner and Roger Lewis president and chairman of General Dynamics; James Roche, Chairman of General Motors; J. K. Jamieson President of Standard Oil of New Jersey; General David Sarnoff Chairman of R.C.A.; Secretary of State William Rogers; Henry Kissinger Presidential advisor; John N. Mitchell Attorney General; Secretary of Treasury David Kennedy; Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee M. Rivers, Chairman of the Senate armed services committee John Stennis; McGeorge Bundy head of the Ford Foundation; Robert McNamara President of the World Bank; and of course President Nixon to name a few. Robert McNamara deserves particular mention. McNamara transferred from the Presidency of Ford Motors in 1960 to become Secretary of Defense under the Kennedy Administration. His principle task was to systematically structure and streamline the Babylonian War Machine and he did precisely that. He coordinated the activities of the numerous component parts of the machine, in order to achieve greater efficiency; he also centralized these activities in the Pentagon.

The forces of Pentagonism are extremely desperate at this point quite simply because the Babylonian War Machine has gone berserk. Like Dr. Frankenstein's monster it has become uncontrollable and is in the process of devouring itself, those who created it, and the people of the world.

This state of affairs is the result of numerous complex and interacting domestic and international antagonisms and contradictions that have developed and are still developing with such in-

tensity that the forces of Pentagonism now see their empire crumbling beneath them.

The developments that have transpired were inevitable; that had in fact been predicted by many over 50 years ago. However owing to an insatiable lust for wealth, compounded by political ineptitude and short-sightedness the rulers of the "American empire" were unable to foresee these developments, and if they did see them they were certain that they could contain and control them. As a Spanish philosopher put it, "those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat their mistakes" and this is clearly what the rulers of the American empire failed to do. They refused to recognize that the "Freedom Train" cannot be derailed.

Revolutionary wars of national liberation all over the world have gained unstoppable momentum. From the islands of the Philippines to the swamps of Indo-China, to the tropical jungles of Africa, and arid deserts of the Middle East; to the tin mines of Bolivia the peoples revolutionary liberation forces are administering devastating death blows to the neo-imperialist puppet regimes that are backed by America. The most devastating blow has been delivered by the Vietnamese people directly to the "Babylonian War Machine" this blow has reverberated around the world countless times and with each trip its impact becomes more devastating for it has served to inspire and stimulate revolutionary movements throughout the world.

Maintaining a permanent state of war is a necessary condition for the forces of Pentagonism to profit, but it is equally necessary that those wars be contained to a pre-determined level. Although the incredible advantages of modern technology has enabled American industry to reduce some of its dependency upon raw materials from Third World countries. With each successful revolutionary struggle in the third world; America finds itself cut off from spheres of influence; sources of cheap raw materials; areas of investment; cheap labor; markets for their military equipment; and other advantages. One of the priorities on the list of revolutionary governments is to nationalize the economic holdings that the imperialists have in their countries. When the revolutionary government came to power in Libya in 1969, the first thing they did was to force the British and the Americans to close down their military bases in that country, and put the personnel they had there on the first thing smoking back home. The fact that America closed down the enormous Wheelus Air Force base in that country is significant, for it underscores the fact that the powers of the Pentagon are up-

tight. The reason given for this move given by the administration was that closing the base down was part of the cut in the military budget; but the true reason for the withdrawal was that the revolutionary government in Libya threatened to nationalize the oil properties owned by American oil companies. Libyan oil wells pump out 3,000,000 barrels per day. If it were not for the fact that the Babylonian War Machine is tied down in Indo-China and the explosive situation that exists in the middle-east, the Babylonian War Machine would have rolled on that country. As soon as the objective conditions are favorable if the revolutionary government stays in power and remains revolutionary, they will undoubtedly rip-off the oil companies. Last week the revolutionary government in Algeria nationalized the oil holdings of Royal Dutch Shell which is the largest corporation in Europe and its American affiliate Shell Oil is the 16th largest corporation in this country. Algeria also ripped-off the holdings of Phillips Petroleum, the 38th largest corporation in this country. The victory of each revolutionary struggle also enhances the strength of the socialist camp led by the People's Republic of China, which is this country's most dreaded foe.

Like all machines and power mechanisms the Babylonian War Machine is only as strong as its weakest part, and its weakest part is its domestic scene. Despite the mounting international contradictions the Babylonian War Machine could roll on for some time if it were not for its domestic crisis. The forces of Pentagonism have attempted to create a calm and stable domestic situation by buying off the industrial workers with higher wages and greater fringe benefits and implanting in their minds an irrational and paranoid fear of communist invasions. And they have attempted to buy off Black people and other minorities with anti-poverty-funds and by passing sham civil rights laws, among other things.

Their efforts to buy off Black people was doomed to backfire by nature. Instead of buying the masses of Black people off, they have triggered a potentially catastrophic force manifested in the new style Black Liberation movement led by the Black Panther Party.

Added to this the war in Vietnam and the uncovering of atrocities committed against the Vietnamese people has been instrumental in alienating a significant number of white youths from the American system, and generating rebellions on the college campuses from coast to coast. America now finds itself confronted with a revolutionary force in the mother country that has displayed a high degree of revolutionary know how and can do. The Weathermen are creating a stormy climate in the mother country.

And if that wasn't bad enough the economy is having its top blown off and its bottom falling out in the form of inflation and recession. The unemployment rate now stands at 5% and before the year is over it will hit 6% at least. This situation has led to demands for more jobs even higher pay and strikes by the working class.

In a frightened and frenzied attempt to establish order in the house; the forces of Pentagonism; like a rabid mad dog is biting everything in sight; they have unleashed the repressive forces of the Babylonian War Machine upon the nation full steam ahead.

The top forces of Pentagonism have taken over domestic affairs in all but name. The critical decisions affecting the domestic situation are now emanating out of the Pentagon.

Their crazed endeavours to keep the roof from caving in have already included, putting feeble minded, panic stricken pigs in the U.S. Supreme Court to interpret the constitution - which has always been repressive - in such a manner that fascism has been ushered in upon the stage of American history according to the so-called American democratic processes, the local, state and federal police agencies greater funds and more modern weaponry - automatic rifles, tanks; etc. The activities of these agencies have also been brought under greater centralized control. The staunch Pentagon functionaries in Congress and the fascist legislation after another, and they are just warming up. Those in the administration who are critical of government policy are being fired and replaced with pigs of definite right-wing mentalities; new agencies are being created for the purpose of bringing government operations under greater Pentagon centralized control. An example of this is the new department of budget and management. They have unleashed an attack upon those of the mass media who they consider to be too critical of government policies and their so-called opponents in congress and the senate. They are intensifying their program of genocide against Black people and other domestically colonized minorities with special emphasis upon the Black Panther Party. They are indicting, arresting and convicting revolutionaries and all who oppose their insane activities on false conspiracy charges and also openly shooting them down in the streets. They have heightened their attempts to win even stronger support from the white working class by further exploiting their irrational and depraved racist attitudes and their imbecilic patriotic sentiments; thereby further conditioning them to accept and condone all government actions regardless of how barbaric and adverse to their true needs they may be. Like the deprivation of all civil liberties; higher taxes and the extermination of Black people. These and numerous other steps have already been taken by the Pentagon.

Fascism is a reality in America at this very moment and the tragic truth of the matter and the reality of the situation is that things are going to get a lot worse before they get any better. What has gone down thus far is but a mere dress rehearsal. The real show hasn't really begun. Yes, we are watching the fall of the American empire, however in their maniacal efforts to hold on to that empire the rulers of it will not hesitate to drag all of humanity into utter oblivion.

As we engage in futile dialogue over whether we should be violent or non-violent, stab each other in the back; vainly hope

that Black capitalism will better our economic plight; look to powerless and treasonous Black politicians as a vehicle of positive change; shout pleas of mercy to a mystical dubious force in the sky; plunge into poisonous bags of scag; extoll the beauty of Blackness; scream I'm Black and I'm proud" do the funky chicken to a Motown beat; murder-mouth about what you gonna do; say "right on" and remain "turned off"; the Ogre of Fascism rapidly devours us.

The powers that be have decreed that the only nigger is a dead nigger. We are being exterminated in a thousand and one different ways, and the pigs are making no distinctions between niggers who wear afros and dashikis and those who wear their hair near bald and Brooks Brothers suits. Being Black in America or negro has become a crime punishable by death. The only thing that the pigs of the Pentagon haven't done is to run us wholesale into the gas chambers, and that is forthcoming. Can you dig being processed into a "Black Lampshade"? The question is not whether you like or dislike violence. The question is not whether you think you will win or lose. The question is do you want to live and if you want to live, you must equip yourself with the necessary ideological, organizational and material tools to ensure your survival namely; a realist and correct political perspective, a united front, and military equipment. If you think for one moment that you can save yourself by being peaceful and cool forget it, cause the name of the game is "tag" and you are "it". Recently in Macon, Ga. the Black community demanded better housing, schools, hospital service; a stop to police brutality and such. The white racist, sadistic Mayor R. Thomas replied by issuing "shoot to kill" orders to his police force and stated that he would arm and deputize 1,000 white citizens.

The revolutionary people of the world are hip to the fact that the only people really capable of destroying the "Babylonian War Machine" and the wicked American empire are those who live in the heart of it, and the pigs of the pentagon know it too. Like the oppressive, morally decadent and power crazed Babylon of old, its modern day descendent capitalist America will perish, it was condemned from birth, but the righteous people of this nation must not be allowed to perish with the pigs. The only way we can survive is to create a society based upon love, human dignity and mutual prosperity. We must unite and collectively destroy the pigs of the Pentagon.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
SEIZE THE TIME  
Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor  
N.Y. 21



## DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS

## FELLOW BROTHER INMATES OF WEST GREYSTONE SALUTE OUR FALLEN BROTHERS!

On Saturday, August 15th, Memorial and Funeral Services were held in Oakland for brothers Jonathan Jackson and William Christmas who were killed in a gun battle with the fascist police after liberating themselves from a Marin County courtroom.

Saturday, brothers in jail houses all over the state of California and in many other jail houses across the country, paid due respect and tribute to these brothers.

We were also showing due respect to these highly courageous brothers who died attempting to liberate themselves as well as the Soledad Brothers.

We did not eat the noon meal that day, many did not eat "all day". Also we requested that the radio be turned off that afternoon during the funeral (1-4p.m.).

These brothers laid down their lives for a cause. We could surely sacrifice a so-called meal.

We realize that some people only think of "themselves" and did not go along in showing this respect. This is understandable, although not justifiable.

These brothers demonstrated a whole hell of a lot of heart in what they did. They deserved this tribute and symbol of respect.

POWER TO OUR BROTHERS!  
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



## INFORMATION CONCERNING THE KIDNAPPING OF JOHN CLARK, DEFENSE CAPTAIN, BALTIMORE CHAPTER, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

This information concerning the kidnapping of John Clark, Defense Captain of the Baltimore Chapter of the Black Panther Party has been compiled to bring the masses of people up to date on the latest events concerning the kidnapping of our comrade away from the people he loves and has vowed to serve.

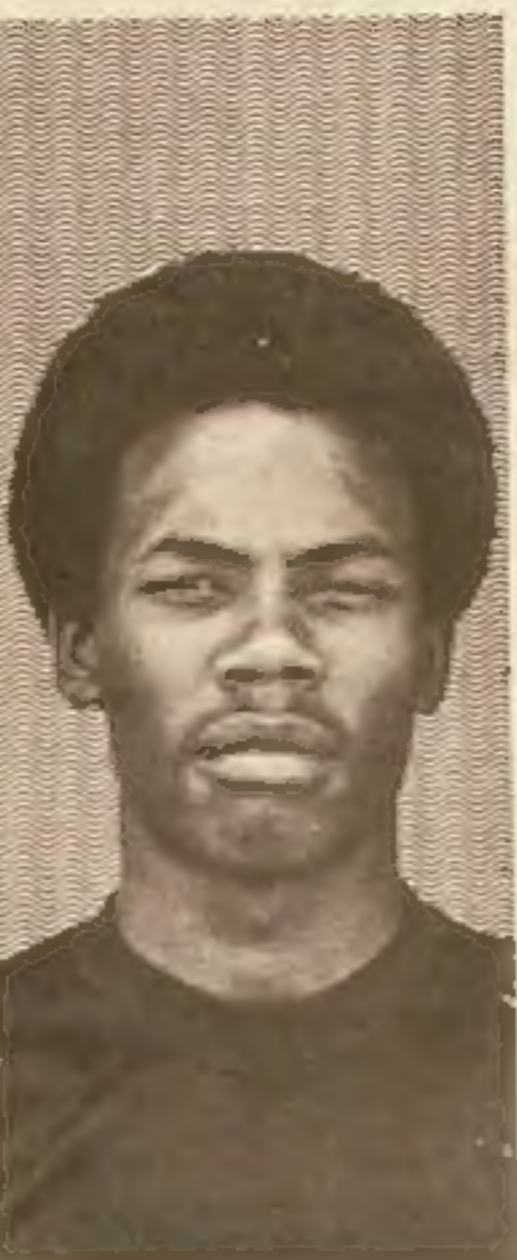
1. John Clark was kidnapped away from the people on July 30, 1970. This 1970 act of slave catching was carried out and could only be carried out with threat and assistance of Donald Pomerleau, and his racist scurvy pigs.

2. It has been established that the

kidnapper had been to Baltimore for over two weeks and had planned his method of kidnapping with the collusive help of the Baltimore pigs.

3. At this time, the Baltimore city pigs have yet to prove the slave catcher Valdez ever properly identified himself other than by name and other than to say he had come to take John Clark to California on a still unclear charge of burglary.

4. The very fact that the Baltimore pigs helped in aiding this kidnapper take John out of the legal jurisdiction of Maryland and to help him move to another states'



"Chip"  
Panther  
Political Prisoner  
on Death Row

Brothers, sisters, and revolutionary comrades, our struggle for national liberation requires sacrifice. A subordination of individual interest to the collective interest of the masses. We are representatives of this collective interest and responsible to their needs and desires. Our present situation dictates what is necessary for the transformation of an oppressed society to a liberated society. Our uncompromising stance must not be made passive or cowardly by intimidation of death by the fascist imperialist mother country.

Historically the slave master has always indoctrinated the slave with fear of death--the slave master's consequence for any assertive struggle for freedom. The phenomenon of death was and is given a sinister of frightful distorted definition. Because of the mental fixation (indoctrination) perpetrated by the slave master, whenever Black people think in terms of or see death it terrifies the fantasies and imagination of the unknown, he taught and ingrained into our minds, thus

liberation is aborted.

There are two causes of death, natural death and social death. Natural death is the inevitable evolutionary result of the new perpetually replacing the old--a child born today will die of old age tomorrow. Social death is the unfortunate results of man's relationship to his environment, including other men. The term social death means untimely or accidental death caused by the external environment; for example, famine, improper health conditions, exposure to extreme heat or cold etc. Natural death is inevitable and unavoidable. Social death is not natural or inevitable but determined by objective conditions. We can regulate or eliminate social death at our own discretion. So death can be defined in terms of natural (internal physiological) phenomenon or social (environmental) phenomenon. We must guarantee an end to social death.

The Black Panther Party is in a very fragile position in relationship to the oppressors ability to subject us to social death. We, the fighters for liberation, driven by the urge to be free, are the destructive clog in the fascist state apparatus and exploitation. Our primary concern is to educate the oppressed masses, destroy the mental fixation and myths of our tormentors' invincibility. The Black Panther Party is a manifestation of Black people's self-determination to purge from society social death--the effect of capitalism. However, the immediate result of struggle between the have and have-nots, oppressed and the oppressor or national liberation against national colonization will be social death (there can be no progress without struggle and sacrifice) the end result will be a society free of antagonistic contradiction. The possibility of death is considered but it is not the determining factor in our practice. If we accept the pigs' definition of death and fail to develop our own, then we are guilty of reacting to the oppressors' mental instrument of repression with emotionalism and irrationality. But the Black Panther Party responds basing our practice on the highest interest and largest number of the masses. We are under the authority of the people. We must sacrifice.

In order to live and be free we must be prepared to die. Brothers like General Dessalines of Haiti and Nat Turner are monu-

mental landmarks and bear witness of victory over fear and slave mentality. Brother Malcolm X refused to succumb to intimidation of consequence because he demanded Black people must control their own destiny by any means necessary--even the sacrifice of his life. The revolutionary examples of Bobby Hutton, Spurgeon "Jake" Winters, Walter "Toure" Pope gives us a clear ideological bearing as to what must be done. Seventeen year old Jonathan Jackson (brother of Soledad 3, George Jackson) and the three Black Prisoners of War from San Quentin, is a manifestation of the times. Brother Jonathan's courage and valor to free political prisoners by any means necessary was in fact an action to free all oppressed people. For people who evaluate only in terms of quantity it was a failure. Looking at the dual nature of things, the revolutionary evaluates in terms of quality and quantity. The quality of the Brothers' practice, the beauty, the uniqueness was the superiority of his love for the people and their freedom, over the fascist judicial terrorists' threat of death. In revolution we win or we die--WE NEVER SUBMIT! That is the victory.

The Black Panther Party recognizes the struggle has advanced to a higher level. We are struggling for human rights--the prerequisite for self-determination. Therefore, civil laws that aren't responsive or refuse to recognize the human laws of self-determination warrant no respect or adherence in our just struggle for national liberation. We must Seize The Time! The Time is Now! The reality of NOW dictates the priorities and necessities. Later for subjectivism, ego tripping, small group mentality and cliquism. And most important is TOTAL disregard for the paper pigs' threat of consequence. "Wherever death may surprise us it will be welcomed, provided that this, our battle cry reach some receptive ear, that another hand stretch out to take up weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory."--Ernesto "Che" Guevara

SEIZE THE TIME...NOW!!!

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
So. California Chapter  
Romaine "Chip" Fitzgerald  
(Political Prisoner of War)



John Clark,  
Political Prisoner

legal jurisdiction while he still faces so-called legal proceeding in the state of Maryland is a clear violation of Maryland's state extradition laws.

5. John Clark's legal right to have his rights protected by benefit of attorney were denied with the help of the Baltimore city pigs.

6. John Clark was moved from Maryland without being allowed to contact his family, friends, or lawyer to help him out of his predicament.

7. At present, John Clark is being held in Los Angeles in jail, 3,000 miles from the place the slave catcher first kidnapped him.

8. At this time, John's bail, if any, is unknown. We do know that once it is set, it will have to be delivered to a true bailbondsman in California. Along these same

lines we are trying to raise enough money to be ready when the ball is set.

WE NEED DONATIONS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS TO BE SET ASIDE FOR THIS BAIL. DONATIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO:  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
c/o Legal Defense  
1248 North Gay St.

In our struggle to free our people from the slave master, we will always be confronted with his tool of repression, the slave catcher.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS,

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Baltimore Chapter  
Black Community Information Cen.  
1248 North Gay St.  
342-5536  
Courts

## ANOTHER VITAL AND NECESSARY LEVEL HAS BEEN REACHED IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN AMERICA

Another vital and necessary level has been reached in the revolutionary struggle in America. The people have clearly demonstrated that a point has been reached where they will no longer sit back and passively accept fascist oppression under the guise of justice.

of the racist, imperialist system in the United States.

This is the same corrupt, racist judicial system that Black people have been dragged before for centuries and accused, tried, and convicted of so-called crimes which have seldom amounted to anything more than some

fronting a cowardly, brutal enemy who had them completely out-numbered and out-armed but definitely not "out-manuevered".

The actions of these brothers were a living example of the type of courage necessary to gain the initiative from an



**JONATHAN JACKSON 17**  
Murdered by pigs



**JAMES McCLAIN 37**  
Murdered by pigs



**WILLIAM CHRISTMAS 27**  
Murdered by pigs



**RUCHELL MAGEE 31**  
Wounded by pigs

When courageous brother Jonathan Jackson stepped off into a superior court in San Rafael, California, liberated brothers James McClain, William Christmas and Ruchell Magee and demanded that the "Soledad Three" be set free, they let it be known to the tyrants, who are sitting in the so-called high places of justice, that the time has come when the people refuse to allow any longer their destiny to be determined by laws, decrees, and authorities that were made not to benefit them, but instead to continually oppress them.

The daring and courageous actions of these four brothers have made it blatantly clear that the oppressed people are ready and willing to take whatever steps necessary in order that they may determine their own destiny in spite of all of the oppressive laws, decrees and authorities.

There is a saying, "There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to one who is striking at the root." These four revolutionary brothers, dared to strike a highly devastating blow to the fascist American judicial system which is one of the basic roots

sort of attempts to relieve or liberate themselves from the vicious clutches of a barbarically-inhumane, capitalist system.

Quite naturally the lackeys and puppets of the ruling class have tried desperately to cover up and distort the true revolutionary content of this genuine revolutionary action. But no matter how hard they may try to cover up or distort the truth, in the final analysis the facts will continue to speak loudly for themselves.

These four brothers came right down front with guns in hand and righteously "took" the initiative out of the hands of the oppressor and put it into the hands of the oppressed and while doing so they displayed the utmost of courage.

Skill is a factor in fighting strength; but it is definitely not the determining factor. Courage is the decisive factor in fighting strength, the courage of daring to struggle and daring to win victory. This is the type of courage that brothers Jonathan Jackson, James McClain, William Christmas and Ruchell Magee showed in con-

oppressor. The courage of these brothers demonstrated a highly developed revolutionary consciousness. A revolutionary consciousness of brothers who had been the unwarranted victims of the wanton oppression of the fascist so-called penal institutions combined with an uncompromising revolutionary consciousness of a beautiful young brother with a whole lot of heart who sprang from a courageous new and arising generation that has shown without a doubt that they will no longer passively accept the mockery of justice as given out in the courts of America.

These brothers took the revolutionary struggle in America forward to a new level of struggle, a level that must never be retreated from, but from which we must diligently strive further ahead toward our ultimate goal of the total and complete annihilation and burial of a decadent, racist, capitalist system.

**POWER TO OUR COURAGEOUS  
FALLEN BROTHERS!  
ALL POWER TO REVOLUTIONARY  
SOLIDARITY!**

Collective of Revolutionary Solidarity  
West Greystone, Santa Rita

### A REVOLUTIONARY FUNERAL GUARANTEES THAT GUERRILLA GHOSTS WILL HAUNT THE REACTIONARIES REMINDING THEM OF THEIR GUILT, UNTIL WARRIORS AMONG THE LIVING TAKE THEIR ULTIMATE REVENGE

By Tom Hayden

Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain have been laid to rest in the hearts and minds of the people.

Two thousand revolutionaries, standing in the hot streets of Oakland outside Father Nell's church, pledged their lives in solidarity with those who fell in Marin. A new image had risen from the dead, an image (wrote George Jackson) of the Black Communist Guerrilla in the highest state of development, "with courage in one hand, and the assault rifle in the other". From the depths of O'Wing at Soledad came the message: "We bury the body but embrace the ongoing spirit".

A revolutionary funeral proves the true life of a revolution. Ordinarily fear of death is the greatest tool of the master class. Ordinarily death is the most frightening and depressing prospect before a people. In the case of oppressed people, death is only further proof that suffering is their permanent lot. Life is so bad, suffering so great, that people traditionally are consoled during funerals by the hope of justice after death.

But murderous oppression contains its own contradictions; generations of misery eventually lessen the fear of death, and permit the coming of warriors willing

to sacrifice everything for justice. This freedom from the fear of death is one of the greatest tools of the liberation movement.

It was this freedom which dominated the Panther revolutionary funeral. The Party has taken the position that a slave who dies a natural death cannot balance two flies on the scales of eternity. In this spirit Huey declared at the funeral that it is not for the dead that we should mourn, but for ourselves. "They achieved freedom while we remain slaves".

The Panthers have achieved the power to redefine life and death. Those who have fallen, still live through their examples. They are

often more real in death than people who walk around the streets breathing. As in Vietnam, where countless streets, schools and factories are named after dead patriots, here the names of Bobby Hutton, Bunchy Carter, John Huggins, Fred Hampton, Mark Clark and others are conferred on the people's parks and community centers. Their sacrifices stir others: for example, those who bravely defended the Los Angeles office last December tell of gaining strength from photos of their dead comrades looking down from the bullet-ridden walls.

The Panthers live not only in the shadow of death, but in the

profound company of fallen brothers and sisters. In a revolutionary movement, the dead are the most beloved members.

The reactionaries have every reason to be terrified of a party which can hold revolutionary funerals. Through murder and terror the reactionaries would like to be able to forever forget the people they have exploited. But instead of intimidating life, terror only fertilizes the soil of revolution. A revolutionary funeral guarantees that guerrilla ghosts will haunt the reactionaries, reminding them of their guilt, until warriors among the living take their ultimate revenge.



# TO THE PEOPLE OF MOUNT VERNON, N.Y.

The ruling class pigs of Mount Vernon are working overtime at their fascist and racist attempt in tricking the people of the Black colony.

One of the first tricks used, obviously was to place three nigger (Med. squad) pigs in the heart of the Black community in order to stop the traffic of drugs. People open your eyes, have the drugs left the community? Quite the contrary, in fact, there has been a considerable influx of drugs in the Black community on a much higher level and the increase is now reaching near epidemic proportions. We can see very clearly, that drugs are part and parcel of this racist capitalist system, which places more emphasis on private property and dollars rather than relating to the value of human lives. Drugs are big money and the profits that are reaped from them are used to fill some fat pig's pockets and help him to maintain his position of influence and power in the community. As we look around us we can also see that the drugs are serving another purpose which is the systematic genocide (mass extermination) of our Black youth and to keep their knowledge at a low level. The type of knowledge is necessary to expose the nature of this decadent American society and to struggle against its oppressive and exploitative capitalist system.

Another trick being used is that of the increasing crime rate in the City of Mount Vernon. As a result of this "so-called" increasing crime rate, the pigs here became the first city in Babylon to receive a grant of \$30,000 to be used to install electronic surveillance equipment. This equipment will be located on Fourth Ave, which is located in the Black community, but this is the primary shopping area where all of the stores are owned by those who do not live in the community. Therefore, all of the profits are being taken out of our community by greedy businessmen who live in such prosperous communities as Scarsdale, Bronxville, Larchmont and Rye. The pigs will install this equipment on all of the light poles. The equipment is weather proof and non-destructible and will function 24 hours a day. A receiving room is being installed at the local pig department where pictures will be received and allow the pigs to constantly "spy". Their big interest however, is not to protect lives but, to protect the stores (private property) of those who exploit us every day. Since Fourth Avenue is the main shopping area Panthers and community workers selling papers there will also be kept under constant surveillance.

Lately, the fascist F B I, pigs have found it necessary to terrorize the Black community by asking the people and ex-community workers about "what's going on up at the Panther office?" Perhaps these sadistic perverts wish to murder another Panther and say that members of the Black Panther Party did it (as they have our brothers and sisters in New Haven.) Panthers do not kill other Panthers only pigs kill Panthers.

During the week of July 18-25th, a series of robberies were committed in

the business area of Fourth Avenue. The racist pigs worked over time in trying to pin these "so-called" burglaries on the Black Panther Party, but people have judged us through our practice and they know that we will never commit any act or crime whatsoever against the people. Our job is to serve the people and educate by example through our programs: Liberation School, Free Lunch Programs, Free Breakfast Program, Free Health and Medical Clinic, Community control of Police, Etc.) The pigs have never liked any of our programs because they are based on socialism (sharing) and not capitalism (exploiting). We started Liberation school at our office on Friday July 17, 1970 with a Free Lunch included. Since that time, the pigs know that our children are being taught our true history and role in the present day society. They are taught Black his-

## REGISTRATION FORM

FOR REPRESENTATIVES OR INDIVIDUALS FOR THE  
REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S PLENARY SESSION

Temple University Gymnasium  
Broad & Montgomery Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
September 5-7, 1970

UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTIFIED OF CHANGE

CHECK-IN CENTER IS, CHURCH OF THE ADVOCATE, 18TH. & DIAMOND ST.

CHECK-IN TIME STARTS FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4th AT 12 NOON THRU  
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5th, 4 P.M. PLENARY SESSION STARTS  
SATURDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 5th AT 7 P.M.

WE SUGGEST TO ALL PEOPLE, REPRESENTATIVES AND PARTIES OF  
ORGANIZATIONS TO ARRIVE EARLY AS POSSIBLE STARTING FRIDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 4th, 12 NOON SO THAT EVERYONE CAN BE PROPERLY ASSISTED  
IN GETTING HOUSING AND OTHER NECESSARY INFORMATION THAT MANY  
THOUSANDS WILL NEED TO KNOW FOR THE DURATION OF THE PLENARY SESSION

Cut along this line and  
Mail this section of the Registration

Please check all appropriate  
squares

I AM COMING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S PLENARY SESSION.

- ☐ I WILL NOT NEED HOUSING ARRANGEMENTS.  
☐ I WILL NEED HOUSING ARRANGEMENTS.

- ☐ I WILL NOT NEED TRANSPORTATION.  
☐ I WILL NEED TRANSPORTATION.

☐ OTHER MEMBERS OF MY ORGANIZATION WILL ALSO ATTEND. HOW MANY? \_\_\_\_\_

☐ I WOULD LIKE TO ESTABLISH A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION INFORMATION CENTER IN MY AREA.  
(IF THIS IS FOR AN ORGANIZATION, PLEASE SEND NAME, ADDRESS AND OTHER  
PERTINENT PARTICULARS)

PLEASE SEND REGISTRATION BLANKS, INFORMATION ETC. SO THAT I MAY AID THE PLENARY SESSION  
BY DUPLICATING AND DISTRIBUTING MATERIALS, LEAFLETS, POSTERS, BUMPER STICKERS, ETC.

I WILL ENCLOSE \$\_\_\_\_\_ TO HELP WITH THE COST OF THE PLENARY SESSION.

NAME.....

STREET ADDRESS.....CITY.....STATE.....ZIP.....

HOME PHONE.....ORGANIZATION.....NON-ORGANIZATION.....

PHONE (FOR ORG.).....ADDRESS.....CITY.....STATE.....

THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IS  
PROJECTED TO November 4, 1970, ELECTION DAY.  
LOCATION and PLANS WILL BE DEVELOPED at the PLENARY SESSION

MAIL THIS REG. FORM TO:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
National Headquarters  
Ministry of Information  
1048 Peralta St.  
W. Oakland California  
(415) 485-5047-48-49

Wash., D.C., Ministry of Infor.  
2351 14th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20009  
(202) 265-4418-19

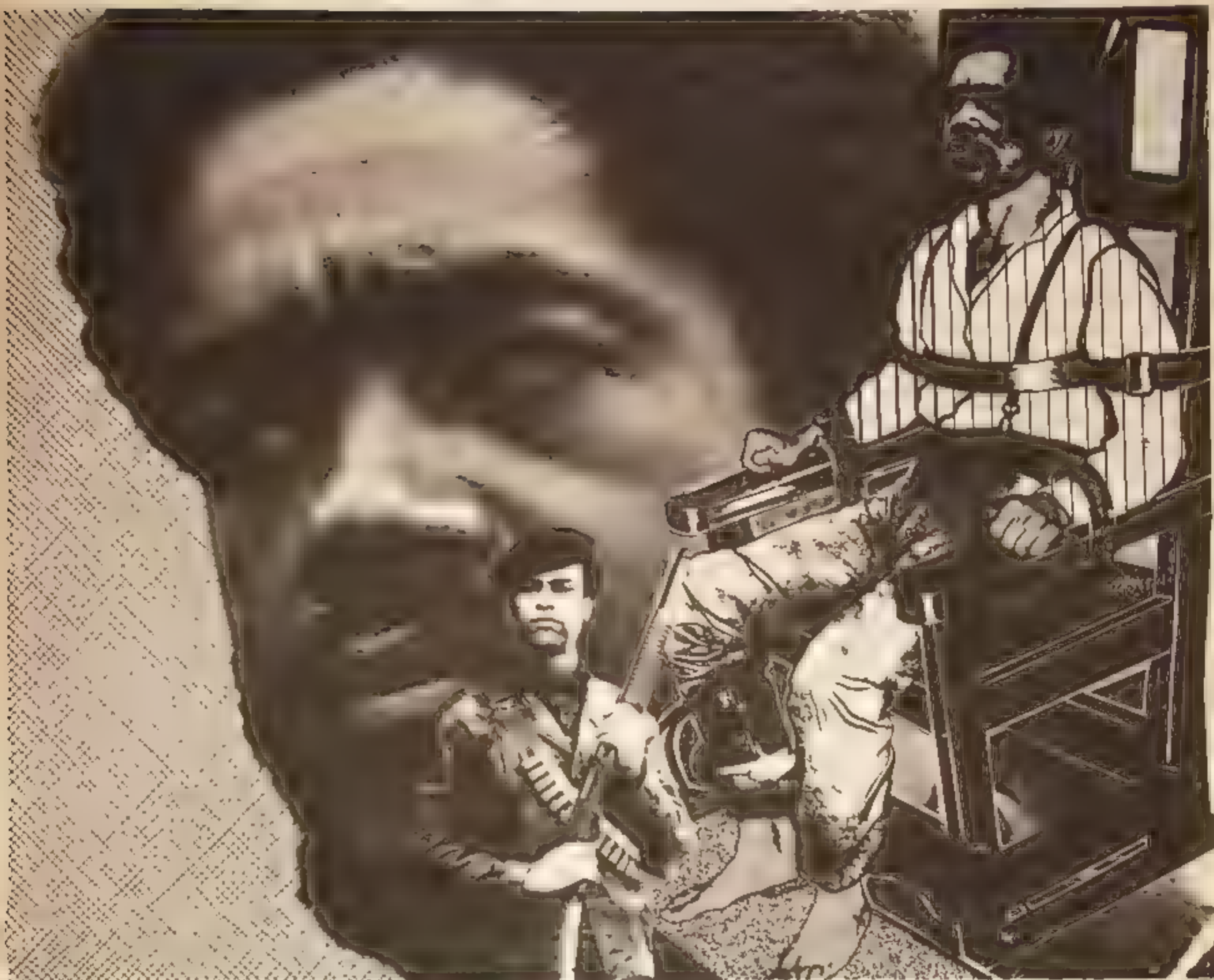
East Coast, Ministry of Infor.  
1370 Boston Road  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11212  
(312) 328-9911-9009

Chicago Ministry of Information  
2350 W. Madison  
Chicago, Ill.  
(312) 243-8276

Eddie Kull

Black Panther Party  
Community Information Center  
Mount Vernon





Where is Freedom when a peoples right to "Freedom of Speech" is denied to the point of murder? When attempts at "Freedom of the Press" brings bombings and lynchings?

Where is Freedom when the right to "peacefully assemble" brings on massacres? Where is our right to "keep and bear arms" when Black People are attacked by the Racist Gestapo of America? Where is "religious freedom" when places of worship become the scene of shoot-ins and bomb-ins? Where is the right to vote "regardless of race or color" when murder takes place at the voting polls? Are we free when we are not even secure from being savagely murdered in our sleep by policemen who stand blatantly before the world but yet go unpunished? Is that "...equal protection of the laws"? The empty promise of the Constitution to "establish Justice" lies exposed to the world by the reality of Black Peoples' existence. For 400 years now, Black People have suffered an unbroken chain of abuse at the hands of White America. For 400 years we have been treated as America's foot-stool. This fact is so clear that it requires no argumentation.

# REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

PLENARY SESSION  
TEMPLE UNIVERSITY  
GYMNASIUM

SEPTEMBER 5-7  
PHILADELPHIA, P.A.

## REPORT ON THE TRIAL OF LONNIE McLUCAS

AUGUST 12, 1970

## MENTALLY DEFECTIVE PIG, GEORGE SAMs, LIED ON WITNESS STAND AGAINST LONNIE McLUCAS, BOBBY SEALE AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY IN GENERAL



**Lonnie McLucas, Political Prisoner  
Held by Fascist Pigs of Connecticut**

For over a month and a half, the pig press all over this country has been printing their usual propaganda and lies to the people in RE: To the trial of Lonnie McLucas and the New Haven 9.

All of these lies have been perpetuated by Richard (Pig) Nixon, Hoover, Mitchell, Aherne, etc.—the same tools of the fascist ruling class. The same pigs who control the media, also control what's happening in the courtroom. Those same pigs are responsible for the press printing that Lonnie is a murderer, confusing the minds of the people. Those same pigs are responsible for the trial being held in a courtroom which seats only from 25 to 30 people. Their reason for doing this is so that they can keep the truth from the people. The pigs don't want the people to enter the courtroom and see the mockery of justice that is constantly being displayed. A Black man is being tried for a crime which he did not commit a crime which some Black lackey pigs has openly admitted, but yet the trial of the New Haven 9 and Lonnie McLucas continue to ride straight through all the constitutional rights that all people are suppose to have. But then, that is the major contradiction of American Democracy. The Black man has no rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States of America.

That constitution only serves the pigs of the power structure, and it grants them immunity to all the crimes which they commit against the people. That is why we must re-write the constitution of this country and make relevant to Black people and other oppressed people needs. Only a new constitution could serve as the basic weapon for insuring correct justice in courts to oppress people, and certainly, the jails of this country would house the real criminals—definitely men like Hoover, Nixon, Agnew, Mitchell, Aherne, Rockefeller, DeLoach and all the oppressors of the people.

example of racist injustice. This week revealed the continuation of the pig plot nationally to try to discredit and destroy the Black Panther Party. Lonnie McLucas along with Chairman Bobby and the rest of the New Haven 9 are being railroaded down the rails of U.S. fascism. Every Black man, woman and child is subjected to being a victim of that railroad, either one way or the other.

Last week's trial began on Tuesday, August 4th. The states doctor testified that George Sams, the crazy pig that he is was sane, and was properly allowed to testify as a state's witness.

What the pig press did not tell the people was that this pig psychiatrist, Doctor Miller who is superintendent of the Fairfield Hospital is incompetent. The hospital that he supervises, houses the so-called criminally insane. Dr. Miller's hospital has been accused of criminally assaulting patients, unexplained deaths have occurred there, and in general, the hospital is operated as a mad house with the so-called Dr. Miller being the mad man and not the brothers and sisters who have been put there by this insane society. So how could this pig psychiatrist Miller have any credibility in judging another man. But history shows that psychiatrists have always been used by the ruling class to suppress the people and their struggle. Hitler used psychiatrists to commit sane Jews to mental institutions in order to perpetuate genocide. The fascist U.S. government is using the same tools of oppression and fascism to perpetuate genocide against Lonnie McLucas, the New Haven 9 and all Black people in particular.

The pig psychiatrist testified that he had been appointed by the state. The defense argued that we would like to have our own doctor. Of course, the pig judge overruled this. Miller said that Sams had never been declared insane and that his power to remember, excellent.

Miller testified that George Sams's I.Q. has jumped from 64 to 85 or above since the time he has been in jail (a period of one year).

The defense questioned the pig doctor as to how he had reached these conclusions within a period of only two hours. How could a doctor objectively reach any kind of concrete and thorough conclusions about a mental patient in a two hour examination on a patient as serious as had been described of Sams. To make that kind of diagnosis, the pig doctor replied "it was enough there". The pig doctor admitted that in the past, Sams had been confined in three different institutions, and had been officially classed as a dangerous mental defective, "a moron", and later, he was described as an immature, unstable personality of border line intelligence. But now, according to the psychiatrist (who works for the fascist state) George Sams has a warm attitude is co-operative and certainly possesses no tendencies of being hostile. In fascist America as long as Sams was a threat to the society he was a crazy nigger, but now that he has become a tool of this fascist government who have plans to commit genocide against Black people, Sams is warm and co-operative, he's a good house nigger, who loves his master. The pig psychiatrist reached his conclusions by saying that when he met Sams, Sams showed respect for his elders by offering him his chair. Miller said that showed that in growing up Sams had learned respect for his elders and had learned to be co-operative.

What a fool Miller is and what a racist he is. George Sams is a product of a racist society and coming from Mobile Alabama, he learned to stand up for the White man. And the co-operative—that Miller diagnosis, that is called bootlicking. George Sams is a bootlicking nigger, that's our diagnosis from the perspective of revolutionary psychiatry i.e. pig Miller needs to read Franz Fanon.

Pig Miller played his role for the state, throwing out little lies that Sams had repeated to him. The defense argued, but as always, the pig judge overruled motions and bootlicking crazy nigger George Sams was allowed to testify on Thursday.

There was no court on Wednesday.

Thursday's session of the trial was a carbon copy of all the historical experiences of Black people.

The nigger who sells his people down the drain by lying and expecting favors from the master. George Sams entered the courtroom all dressed up in what looked like crumfs from the master's table. He looked at Lonnie with an expression of hostility, quite a contradiction to what the pig psychiatrist had testified to on Tuesday that pig George reveals no hostile tendencies.

He sat in the witness stand looking at Lonnie and repeating by heart what all the tapes had said.

His coolness on the stand must have been contributed to the mind tranquilizers that pig Dr. Miller talked about. The pig press overprinted that in order for Sams to function half-way understand-

ably, he has to be drugged very heavily. In Sams testimony he did his best to try and make Lonnie look bad. (Frances Carter had testified that Sams hated Lonnie) for the first time during the entire trial, George Sams said that Lonnie had poured hot water over the body of Alex Rackley. Sams tried to make it look as if he was horrified at the conditions of Alex Rackley (when the pig himself had ordered and carried out almost all of the torture). He said to soothe the pain of Alex he had poured cold water upon his body. George Sams has been plainly programmed by the pig structure, it's because of this that he contradicted his own original statement and those of the pigs who have testified, including Loretta Lukes. George Sams was such a brutal person, Loretta Lukes testified that he put a gun to her head, threatened to kill her, beat pregnant sisters in the stomach, so everything that he says is irrelevant as far as creating conditions for the people to judge Lonnie McLucas and the New Haven 9.

Sams was very dramatic in his testimony about the murder. It was clear that he is out to save his own brutal hide by trying to implicate Chairman Bobby. Sams lied by saying that he received orders from Chairman Bobby to off Alex Rackley.

He also threw in the name June Hilliard as one of the people present after talking about Alex being tortured. The fascist government of this country is trying to rid the Black Panther Party of its entire leadership, and Pig Nixon, Hoover and all the rest of the scum will at every turn use any of its pre-planned fascist court scenes to try to implement Party leadership.

George Sams is also trying to lie about members of the New Haven 9 hoping that he can cause a split and weaken their spirits. Like at the trial he said that the New Haven Chapter suspected Brother Edwards of being a pig.

Sams final act at the judicial circus was to involve the name of Attorney William Kunstler. The pig said that after he had given orders for Alex to be murdered, members of the Party split for New York. Where they went to Kunstler's office who intern found overnight sleeping quarters at a friend of Kunstler's home.

The fascist government, in addition to perpetuating madness in trying to destroy the Black Panther Party also is trying to repress our attorneys and other allies. We all know how the pig judge Hoffman in Chicago placed contempt charges on Attorney Kunstler there in addition to kicking Chairman Bobby for contempt also.

Sams staged his most dramatic speech for last. He said that after he received orders from national to off Alex he then went to Chicago where he received orders to off Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton. The maniac said because Deputy Chairman Fred and the Party was doing some work with the Afro-American Patrolman Ass. (the only Black group of policemen who came out denouncing Pig Daley's outright murdering of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark) that Deputy Chairman Fred's action were counter-

revolutionary. He said that he had been put under house arrest and beaten with a carbine. He said that he left Chicago (F.B.I. agents didn't recognize him) and moved on to Detroit. Where he then fled to Canada. There the pig working with all the fascists tried to devise a plot to discredit the Party in Chicago, the facts about the AAPA and point out Fred's murder being something which was previously ordered by his own comrades.

London and Rory's names were constantly coming up during the trial, either as those who gave orders or those who questioned (his) Sams orders.

Pig Sams said London told him if Kimbro and Lonnie were nervous, that he should off them too. There is no doubt in any sane person's mind that George Sams is a crazy nigger and should not be allowed to walk free within the confines of even maximum security with political prisoners.

The defense will cross-examine the pig on Friday.

Sams was cross-examined today by the defense attorney, he was able to maintain his coolness until the defense began and questioned his activities as a member of the Black Panther Party. Almost all of his statements were contradictory. He even said that the pig DeLoach and the F.B.I. agents who testified last week must have made mistakes copying his statements. He said that much of Pig Warren Kimbro's testimony were lies (Warren Kimbro turned states witness after his brother (a pig) came up from Florida (not Mills, as our paper printed in trial news two weeks ago).

Sams stated that he joined SNCC in 1967, he was a body guard for Stokely Carmichael he said that he joined the Panthers in 1968—Carmichael told him to join the Black Panther Party so that he could find out about them. He said that he maintained his allegiance to SNCC during the entire time that he was a member of the Party. When Chairman Bobby expelled him for stabbing a brother in the leg Stokely was the one who interceded to have him reinstated. (Since the trial Stokely has not come forward to interject anything into the insanity of George Sams) in the meantime Lonnie and the other Panthers are facing railroad and Chairman Bobby faces the chair.

Cross-examination of this Black lackey pig will continue on Tuesday.

While the fascist court goes on people are still being denied entrance because the courtroom is too small. The racist pigs are becoming even more up tight. They are constantly harassing the people.

Lonnie's spirit are very high—he is very strong.

And now that Huey walks the streets, one more warrior for the people's struggle makes us more determined in our struggle.

The people's spirit will dictate the outcome of this fascist trial and not the fascists.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Connecticut State Chapter  
RoseMarie

## DEFEND LONNIE McLUCAS

SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE PANTHERS  
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## BOBBY'S APPEAL



## PART V

B. THE COURT'S WILLING DENIAL OF APPELLANT'S SIXTH AMENDMENT RIGHTS REQUIRES REVERSAL OF HIS CONTEMPT CONVICTION.

Reversal of appellant's (Bobby) conviction is required because the wrongful denial of the right to present a defense is so fundamental that conduct stemming directly from that denial cannot warrant such punishment. It is appellant's (Bobby) position in Argument VI, *infra* pp. 119-36, that since the contemptuous acts charged involved no more than appellant's attempts to present his Sixth Amendment claims, to preserve those claims for appellate review and to present some defense on his own behalf, they cannot constitute the substantive crime of contempt as defined in 18 U.S.C. § 401. (56) But appellant's convictions must be reversed for the independent reason that they directly resulted from the trial court's violation of his most fundamental rights.

(56) Argument VI makes clear that 14 of the 16 allegedly contemptuous incidents consisted of remarks by appellant that were necessary, or that he at least reasonably believed necessary to preserve his claims for appellate review (*infra* pp. 119-29) and that the remaining two incidents were wholly inconsequential (*infra* pp. 129-30).

(END OF FOOTNOTE)

The right to present a defense to criminal charges, either personally or through counsel of choice is the most basic right afforded a criminal defendant, without which all other guarantees concerning criminal proceedings are meaningless since the defendant has no way to invoke them. It was this most fundamental of rights that appellant was denied. He was ordered to sit through a trial conducted in the absence of his chosen counsel, at which he was in fact not represented, and was prohibited from speaking in his own behalf. Congress surely cannot have intended to make the contempt power available to preserve order, and especially to enforce the unlawful limitations on appellant, during a proceeding so fundamentally lacking in fairness.

Compare *Dancy v. United States*, 361 F.2d 75 (D.C. Cir. 1966). (57)

(57) There a defendant who was erroneously denied counsel at his preliminary hearing assaulted an officer who was testifying against him. He was subsequently convicted of assault, but the court of appeals reversed, reasoning:

It is contended by the United States that the absence of counsel at the preliminary hearing on the sarcoptic charges furnishes no ground for reversal of the assault conviction. This seems to amount to a contention, which we cannot accept, that even if appellant were prejudiced by denial of his statutory right there can be no remedy. To borrow a maxim from the civil side of the common law, where there is a wrong done, with injury, there is a remedy. Appellant... became engaged in an adversary proceeding in which the law contended he could have professional assistance. This law was disregarded. It is probable that had his right to assigned counsel been observed the conduct which led to the charge of assault would not have occurred. . . The absence of counsel was a factor which defendant had a right to bring to the attention of the jury in presenting the entire setting of his offense. (361 F.2d at 78-79) (END OF FOOTNOTE)

The court's error in denying appellant's right to be represented by Garry requires reversal of the contempt convictions for a second reason. The advice of counsel is essential if an aggrieved defendant is to have any idea how to conduct himself during a criminal trial. Only an attorney can advise him as to the correctness of a court's orders, as to when those orders should be obeyed, and the consequences of disobedience, and as to when he should protest or accept court and prosecu-

The Supreme Court has already recognized that the assistance of counsel is necessary if a suspect or defendant is to intelligently decide whether to answer police questions, *Miranda v. Arizona*, 384 U.S. 436 (1966), how to plead to a criminal charge, *White v. Maryland*, 373 U.S. 59 (1963), what

sort of defense to offer at a criminal trial, *Gideon v. Wainwright*, 372 U.S. 335 (1963), and what sort of argument to present at a sentencing hearing, *Mempa v. Rhay*, 389 U.S. 125 (1967). (57A) Any action taken by an unrepresented defendant at such "critical" decision-making stages cannot be held or used against him. Certainly a defendant's decisions as to whether to make a motion or objection at trial and as to the language and manner of so doing, are as "critical" and as legally complex as those involved in *Miranda*, *White Gideon*, and *Mempa*, not only because the decisions may affect the outcome of the particular proceeding, but because they may, if badly or untimely made, lead to criminal contempt charges. Moreover, in this case the trial judge failed to fulfill a court's special responsibility to explain to an unrepresented defendant called upon to make significant decisions, the alternatives open to him and their legal ramifications. Under these circumstances, the erroneous denial of appellant's chosen counsel constitutes a defense to the contempt charges arising out of his vain attempts to protect his rights during trial.

(57A) We also direct the Court's attention to the Supreme Court's decision in *Coleman v. Alabama*, 38 U.S.L.Wk. 4535 (1970), announced June 22, two days before this brief was filed, reversing a conviction on the ground that the defendant was not represented by counsel at his preliminary hearing, and detailing the assistance and protection which an accused would receive from "the guiding hand of counsel" at such a hearing. (END OF FOOTNOTE)

II  
IN IMPOSING AN AGGREGATE SENTENCE OF FOUR YEARS FOR CRIMINAL CONTEMPT WITHOUT ACCORDING APPELLANT A JURY TRIAL, THE COURT BELOW VIOLATED HIS RIGHTS AS DEFINED IN *BLOOM V. ILLINOIS*, 391 U.S. 194 (1968), AND *CHEFF V. SCHNACKENBERG*, 384 U.S. 373 (1966).

A. ASSUMING THAT 16 SEPARATE CONTEMPTS WERE COMMITTED, THE COURT ERRED IN IMPOSING AN AGGREGATE SENTENCE IN EXCESS OF SIX MONTHS WITHOUT ACCORDING APPELLANT A JURY TRIAL.

Appellant was summarily convicted of 16 different contemptuous acts, and sentenced to three months on each, the terms to be served consecutively and thus amounting to an aggregate sentence of four years. In *Cheff v. Schnackenberg*, *supra*, the Supreme Court ruled, exercising its supervisory power over the federal courts, that a jury trial was required in all contempt cases resulting in sentences in excess of six months. *Bloom v. Illinois*, *supra*, found the same rule applicable to state contempt proceedings by virtue of the jury trial provisions of the federal Constitution, regardless of whether the contempt was classified as direct or indirect. (58)

(58) The court noted that direct contempts were ordinarily dealt with summarily but, while recognizing "a strong temptation to make exception for the rule we establish today for disorders in the courtroom...." found that "no such special rule is needed" (391 U.S. at 210).

(END OF FOOTNOTE)

The direct court's action presents the question whether a court can, in one proceeding, by charging a contemnor with a multiplicity of separate "acts" of contempt and sentencing him separately on each act, give him a potentially infinite sentence without benefit of jury trial. Appellant submits that

such power is in clear violation of the spirit and philosophy of *Cheff* and *Bloom*, *supra*.

Summary punishment for contempt in the federal system represents an extraordinary concentration of despotic power in one individual. The trial judge decides what constitutes a crime, since contempt is legislatively defined only in the vaguest and broadest terms; (59) what the penalty shall be without any legislative limits; whether to prosecute and on what charges. He acts as prosecutor, judge and jury at a "trial" conducted in the absence of procedures designed to control the exercise of arbitrary power by such officials. His decisions are subject only to a necessarily incomplete appellate review since in summary proceedings the trial judge relies heavily on his own impressions of the contemnor's conduct.

(59) 18 U.S.C. § 401 (1) penalizes "misbehavior of any person in... (a court's) presence or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice." See generally GOLDFARB, *The Contempt Power* (1963) pp. 67-70. (END OF FOOTNOTES)

It was in recognition of the extraordinary potential for abuse suggested by such a regime that the Supreme Court in *Bloom* overruled its earlier decision in *Green v. United States*, 356 U.S. 165 (1958), and provided that the summary contempt power could be exercised only to impose a penalty exceeded six months the Court found it essential to provide "a right to jury trial as a protection against the arbitrary exercise of official power" (391 U.S. at 202). Since *Bloom*'s concern was with placing some limits on the power of the trial judge over contemnors, it is clear that a jury must be provided as a buffer between judge and contemnor where the latter is threatened with a four-year term of imprisonment, regardless of whether that term constitutes an aggregate of lesser terms. Indeed *Bloom* was based in part on explicit recognition of a trend toward increasingly severe sentences in contempt cases, (60) and designed to avoid the danger of imposition of such sentences without any trial.

(60) The court specifically noted that convictions for criminal contempt have frequently and increasingly resulted in extremely serious penalties, citing Mr. Justice Goldberg's dissenting opinion in *United States v. Barnett*, 376 U.S. 681, 728, 751 (1964), and Note, 1967 DUKE L.J., 632, 640-41.

Despite this trend toward increasingly severe sentences in contempt cases, the sentence imposed on appellant in the instant case is of almost unique severity. By far the longest sentence noted by authorities commenting on the increased severity in criminal contempt sentencing is the four-year sentence upheld in *United States v. Thompson*, 214 F.2d 545 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 348 U.S. 41 (1954). See, e.g., Note, 1967 DUKE L.J., 632, 641 n. 44; Note, *Procedures for Trying Contempts in the Federal Courts*, 73 HARV. L. REV. 353, 357 (1959); Justice Goldberg's dissent in *Barnett*, *supra*, 376 U.S. at 752-53 n. 35.

Apart from the 4-year 13-day sentence subsequently imposed on attorney Kinsler in the same trial out of which appellant's contempt convictions arose, the only criminal contempt cases appellant's attorneys have found, in an exhaustive review, in which the sentences for contempt exceeded appellant's, involved one Mayberry whose sentences were affirmed by the supreme Court of Pennsylvania, *Commonwealth v. Langnes*, 434 Pa. 478, 255 A.2d 131 (1969), cert. granted sub nom. *Mayberry v. Pennsylvania*, April 6, 1970, No. 1389, upheld Mayberry's aggregate sentence for

contemptuous conduct, *Commonwealth v. Mayberry*, 255 A.2d 548 (Pa. Sup. Ct. 1969), upheld Mayberry's 5-year aggregate sentence for contemptuous conduct in another court proceeding. (In both cases the court relied on *DeStefano v. Woods*, 392 U.S. cases, while completely out of line with sentencing practice in criminal contempt cases, illustrate the danger inherent in the practice of the court below (END OF FOOTNOTE)

It is only if the aggregate sentence is considered determinative of the right to jury trial that the *Bloom* ruling places any realistic limits on the summary contempt power. The "crime" of contempt is so vague that as a practical matter a court may endlessly multiply the number of acts of contempt that have been committed (unless, of course, the crime of contempt is defined as the entire course of trial misconduct, as appellant urges in Argument IC, *infra*, that it should be). If a court can add a six-month sentence for each act of contempt without providing a jury trial there is no practical limit on its power to punish. (61) It is significant that the trial court imposed identical three-month sentences for sixteen incidents involving extremely varied conduct. (62) This supports a conclusion that the citation of particular incidents was a relatively arbitrary means of arriving at a lengthy aggregate sentence.

(61) Past cases demonstrate the potential for abuse of such a doctrine, by showing the ease with which separate acts of contempt may be enumerated. Thus in *Sacher v. United States*, 343 U.S. 1 (1952), the contempt citation contained 40 separate specifications of direct contempt. One of the contemnors was charged with 23 separate contemptuous acts and another with 18. (See Appendix at 182 F.2d 416, 430-33). In *Offutt v. United States*, 348 U.S. 11 (1954), the defendant was cited for 12 different acts of direct contempt. See also *Commonwealth v. Langnes*, *supra* n.60.

(62) The incidents differ as to length, type of language used, whether the jury was present at all during the incident, and whether the jury, if present, was excused because of the incident. (END OF FOOTNOTES)

*Bloom* could not have contemplated the kind of nullification of its ruling represented by the decision below. It was written in the context of a tradition of imposing a general sentence for contempt even where numerous contemptuous acts were cited; (63) or alternatively, imposing concurrent sentences for separate contempt convictions. (64) Thus the *Bloom* Court, which apparently assumed direct contempt at least would be subjected only to minor penalties (65) (and thus not ordinarily require jury trial), could not have contemplated that courts would attempt to impose consecutive, separate sentences for individual acts of contempt in the course of a trial without providing a jury.

(64) See, e.g., *Yates v. United States*, 227 F.2d 848 (9th Cir. 1955); *Parmaire Transportation Co. v. Keeshin*, 292 F.2d 806 (7th Cir. 1961); 294 F.2d 310 (7th Cir. 1961), rev'd on other grounds, sub nom. *In re McConnell*, 370 U.S. 230 (1962).

(65) 391 U.S. at 210. As noted *supra* n. 60, the sentence imposed by the court below is of almost unique severity in the history of criminal contempt. The traditional penalty for direct contempt summarily adjudged, has always been a petty fine or, at most, a few days imprisonment (*infra*, p. 173 n. 254; Note, 63 MICH. L. REV. 700 (1965), and the trend toward

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## EYE WITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE S.P.B. REBELLION

Special Processing Battalion (SPB), Ft. Dix is a unit of some 8 or 9 hundred lower ranking enlisted men that have gone AWOL and have been dropped from the rolls of their original unit and assigned to SPB. Since its beginning as a unit, SPB has been a center and source of dissent on the base at Ft. Dix. For over two years members and organizers of the American Servicemen's Union have been organizing in SPB among the anti-war and anti-military GI's. This release is an eyewitness account by ASU spokesmen from this unit on the latest repression of the resistance movement in SPB. This repression has taken the form of blatant racism against the Afro-American and Puerto Rican GI's assigned to SPB.

As of this release 21 Black GI's have been charged with assault on White GI's in the unit. These charges are frame-ups of the worst kind. The Brass that run SPB and Ft. Dix are trying to break up the resistance movement on the base by using racism to divide the GI's. Divide and conquer. These racist attempts will not work because members of the ASU have been organizing in the unit and are showing the White GI's what racism has always been, a tool of the Brass to divide our movement.

dier. The Black GI was arrested around 8:00 a.m. and was locked up in 'the cage', a large enclosure walled with steel mesh, in the operations section of the barracks. The following morning, July 23, He was given no bedding and his meals were brought to him by armed guards. He was not allowed to see a lawyer and he wasn't formally charged with anything.

In a conversation overheard on the telephone by an ASU member in SPB between Lt. Carmichael, Confinement Officer for SPB, and Lt. Col. Friedman, Post Stockade Commander, Lt. Col. Friedman said, "I want all pre-trial confinement prisoners to stay in SPB. There is no room for any more prisoners in the stockade." Lt. Carmichael said, "no, something is going to happen in SPB. We can't keep these people here. A riot may break out." This conversation took place on Tuesday, July 21.

Lt. Carmichael knew what was going to happen. He knew that the charges on the men were frame-up charges. The Afro-American soldier was a leader among the Black GI's in SPB. And it is extremely unusual, even for SPB, that a man would remain in the cage all of one day and a night.

Wednesday night, 10:00 p.m., July 22, leaders of the Black GI's

morning formation, the next morning they would lead their own formation behind the regular one.

The next morning the Black GI's followed through on this and held their formation in protest of the open racism in SPB.

First Sgt. Mahan told all the Puerto Ricans in formation to fall out and form up in front on the regular formation, which was now all White. Several of the anti-racist White GI's started chanting and yelling at the Sergeants and Brass. Mahan ordered the platoon Sergeants to get the White GI's out on details immediately. The White GI's were loaded onto trucks under guard and taken to details on the base.

Before this, First Sgt. Mahan read off the names of 5 Afro-American soldiers. The five men were taken to Lt. Carmichael's office and charged with assault. They were charged with beating up an informer.

At this time some shy Black GI's went to see Col. Strwell, ex-CCO of SPB, just relieved by Col. Cook. To see what the Colonel would do about freeing their Black brother. The Colonel said that he wouldn't release him. The Afro-American soldiers walked out of his office en masse in protest.

On Thursday, the 23rd, all personnel of SPB were restricted to the barracks. Armed guards were put in front of all the SPB buildings. Guards, with 12-gauge riot shotguns patrolled the area around SPB. Lt. Carmichael and Capt. McCarthy patrolled the area in a jeep, with loaded .45 pistols and night sticks.

On Friday morning nearly all SPB personnel were given passes to get them out of the area. Things were quiet over the weekend.

On Tuesday night, the 28th, an MP was beaten up in the area. A trainee was beaten and robbed. And the telephone center near SPB and the 6th Trg. Unit was wrecked.

On Tuesday afternoon at the 1:00 p.m. formation, Col. Cook, Commanding Officer of SPB said that because the men in SPB had been AWOL, that they must have problems. Then he said that all men with problems would be allowed excess leave time to take care of their problems. This was said, obviously, because the Colonel wanted to clear out SPB for the time being.

Wednesday, the 29th, at 4:30 p.m. formation, Lt. Carmichael and Capt. McCarthy called out the names of 3 Black soldiers. There were 25 to 30 guards armed with .45 pistols surrounding the formation. The 3 Blacks were charged with assault on 5 White soldiers. The 5 Whites were standing beside the officers.

One of the Black men asked the officers why they were being put in the cage. Capt. McCarthy told the man, "I'll tell you later." After the 3 Black men were taken to the cage, the 5 Whites walked through the formation and fingered 13 more Afro-American GI's. These men were also put in the cage.

Capt. McCarthy said to the formation of some 150 SPB personnel, "there are 140 newspapers available in the stockade for SPBers. And I will do my best to fill them." And riot-control MP's stationed at Ft. Meade, Maryland have been on alert for a week.

The officer also said, "These people (the 21 Black men just arrested) are going to the stockade, they are charged with assault and will get 2 to 8 years." McCarthy then brought up a White GI with a puffed face. He said, "This is what they did."

Wednesday night, 6:00 p.m., curfew starts. The men are confined to their barracks and guards are given orders to shoot to kill if any SPB personnel attempts to leave the restricted

area. That night one man was actually shot at. All the night guards were stationed outside the barracks. Outside the restricted area guards patrolled with loaded riot shotguns. Over 175 MP's, trained in riot-control, from Ft. Meade, Md., were also in the area.

The lights were turned out at 10:00 p.m. that night. Anyone caught out of bed was to be charged with breaking restriction and was taken immediately to the stockade. The "law-breaker" would face a Special Court Martial with a maximum penalty of six months confinement in the stockade at hard labor.

Another man, other than Pvt. William McClendon, was charged with breaking restriction because he was 15 minutes late from returning to Western Union. The

man had permission to go to Western Union. He now faces a Special Court Martial and six months confinement at hard labor. Just for being 15 minutes late.

On Thursday morning, Sgt. Watson, 3rd Platoon, A Company, said, "If you men do anything at all you'll go to jail"—meaning the stockade. On Thursday several men were confined to the stockade on minor offenses. Leaves were being granted left and right with the idea of dispersing the SPB personnel.

On Friday morning the harassment continued with many men going to the stockade. Also, on Friday there was a bomb threat at Operations, the HQ of SPB.

Continuing reports will be issued in future press releases, and printed in the SPB NEWS.

### WE AS ACTIVE DUTY MEN: MB+ KD OF THE AMERICAN SERVICEMEN'S UNION AT SPB DEMAND:

1. The immediate release of our 21 Black brothers who were placed in the stockade on frame-up charges of assault on Thursday, July 29!

Racism has always been used as a tool by the Brass to isolate and separate us. We must remain together, united against our common oppressors. Our struggle together will bring the army and its officer class to its knees. And Lt. Carmichael was well aware of this when he brought in front of the formation those brothers accused of his pig charges. He wants "racial tension", he wants prejudice and racism. We as ASU members cannot let this happen. We join in solidarity with all brothers who are struggling against the pigs; against pig racists like Carmichael.

SOLIDARITY AND THE PIG DIES! 2. The immediate lifting of the restriction and the removal of all guards from the barracks area!

Are we criminals? No! Because we are demanding justice from our pig oppressors. The Brass are murderers, and yet they are free to oppress GI's, to perpetrate a war against the Vietnamese people,

the American people, and all of those exploited and oppressed people who are struggling for liberation from the terror of American capitalism. We must turn the guns around, for the Brass are the true criminals, the accomplices to the murder of our brothers in Vietnam.

3. Immediate pay for all of us in SPB!

Are we slaves, working all day for no wages? No! We are men, and many of us have families to feed, debts to pay and we can no longer wait for months at a time for pay we rightly deserve now! Pig officers like Lt. Carmichael get paid hundreds of dollars each month for determining whether GI's who have gone AWOL should be placed in the concentration camp called the POUND, or placed in the semi-prison that is SPB. We demand freedom for all our GI brothers in the stockade and an end to pig jobs like the one Carmichael has.

FREE THE SPB 21 NOW!  
END RESTRICTION ON SPBers NOW!  
ALL GUARDS OUT OF SPB NOW!  
ALL PAY NOW—NOT LATER!

(Reprinted from American Servicemen's Union)



## BLACK G.I.....CANNON FODDER IN THE IMPERIALISTIC WAR MACHINE

The chain of events over the past 10 days has been a long and harrowing one for the men in SPB. Gestapo tactics have been used against these men, such as total restriction of all personnel of the unit to the barracks under armed guard. These men have been charged with nothing and are being deprived of every right they have under the constitution. The guards are issued orders to shoot to kill any of the personnel of SPB that may try to break restriction. One man, Pvt. E-I William McClendon has been charged with Article 134 under the (UCMJ) Uniform Code of Military Justice for breaking restriction and he faces a Special Court-Martial with a maximum penalty of 6 months confinement at hard labor. This is only one of many such cases.

### The Chain of Events:

On Wednesday, July 22, an Afro-American GI was arrested and charged with assault on a basic trainee of the 6th Bn, near SPB. The trainee was not present to identify the Afro-American sol-

and the Puerto Rican GI's in SPB came around to the five barracks of SPB and told the Blacks and Puerto Ricans that a meeting was being held outside about the fact that a brother was locked up in the cage unjustly.

The racist Brass in SPB said later that the meeting that took place with over 250 Black and Puerto Rican GI's present was called to "get together to break windows and lights." The avowed purpose of the meeting was to free their brother locked up in that cage.

To prove that the confinement of the Black soldier was a provocation, while the meeting was going on seven carloads of MP's pulled their cars up in front of SPB Operations. Also, there was a truckload of 30 MP's dressed in riot-control gear in the area.

A confrontation developed between Black and Puerto Rican GI's and the MP's. After about 15 minutes the men returned to the barracks and resumed the meeting. It was planned in the meeting that instead of falling into the regular



### PORTSMOUTH, VA.

Portsmouth, Va. (LNS)—George Daniels, a Black Marine who was sentenced to 10 years hard labor in July 1967 on a charge of "subversion", was sent back to Portsmouth Naval Prison in June of this year to serve the rest of his term, after being out on appeal since the fall of 1969. Daniels was originally tried by a court of all-White officers, for allegedly stating that Black men should not have to fight in Vietnam.

Daniels had been released on an appeal filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, following a series of demonstrations demanding his freedom, and sent to Quantico Marine base in Virginia. Not formally charged with any crime, Daniels was sent back to the brig at Portsmouth by the brass at Quantico because of a number of "minor rules infractions".

Writing from Portsmouth to the American Servicemen's Union, Daniels states: "I figure these pigs think as long as I am in the slams they got everything under control. But I'm going to continue my fight for the liberation of Black people with the only weapon I have, my life..."

### BUFFALO, N.Y.

## GENERAL DORNBERGER FINDS A NEW HOME

Buffalo, N.Y. (LNS)—During World War II, Walter Dornberger was a general. And, like most of the Big Brass of the officer caste in the Army, he retired to become a top executive for one of the big corporations in America. Walter Dornberger is now an executive vice-president for Bell Aero-systems in Buffalo and resides in Boston Hills, a rich Buffalo suburb.

The only thing distinctive about this story is that Walter Dornberger was a Nazi General. Walter Dornberger, like Warner Von Braun and other Nazi pig wags, now resides and makes good money here in America while many Panthers and others fighting against American fascism reside in prison.



## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

### THE U.S. DID NOT CONSIDER MITRIONE'S LIFE WORTH THE 150 POLITICAL PRISONERS WHOSE FREEDOM, THE TUPAMAROS DEMANDED IN EXCHANGE FOR HIS RELEASE UNHARMED

Montevideo, Uruguay (LNS) -- Police are swarming in the streets of Montevideo, granted complete freedom by a 20-day suspension on all civil rights of the Uruguayan people, in the wake of the kidnapping of Dan A. Mitrione. He was executed on August 10 by the Tupamaros, the Uruguayan urban guerrilla outfit which the U.S. sent him to destroy.

Press censorship has been broadened here to forbid full news coverage of the Mitrione kidnapping, although newspapers are already barred from referring to the Tupamaros by name and must please the government to retain their licenses.

Political demonstrations are illegal in Uruguay as are most strikes, although bitter workers clash repeatedly with troops and police for striking despite the law, and a middle class ruined by inflation is beginning to look for radical solutions.

Dan A. Mitrione, formerly Police Chief of Richmond, Indiana and suspected agent of the CIA, has been working on exterminating revolutionary movements since 1960.

His employer for the last decade has been the United States Agency for International Development--the U.S.'s main "foreign aid" program--that has provided him with cover as he has moved from Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro to Montevideo.

No one denies that Mitrione was in Uruguay to fight the Tupamaros as a "Public Safety Advisor". The U.S. foreign aid program stations teams in 15 other Latin American nations to assist the local military and police in crushing rebellions. All are "Public Safety Advisors".

Apparently, the United States did not consider Mitrione personally worth the 150 political prisoners whose freedom, the Tupamaros demanded in exchange for his release unharmed. State

Department officials in Washington conceded that the U.S. did not seriously press the Uruguayan government to release the prisoners, and passively awaited Mitrione's execution.

Naturally, the White House was all tears when its "Public Safety Advisor" was finally discovered dead in a parked car in a working-class district of Montevideo. A statement decried the "despicable act" of "callous murder" and said the incident underlined the "essential inhumanity" of the Tupamaros. Calling Mitrione's execution a "cold-blooded crime against a defenseless human being", the White House vowed that his "devoted" work would remain "an example for free men everywhere".

Meanwhile, in Montevideo, Pacheco Areco--the dictator who refused to bargain with his underground opponents--expressed his shock at "this inhuman and atrocious episode".

"The defense of our government of law is the supreme duty of all Uruguayans", he declared in the capital, and denied that the Tupamaros were anything but "common criminals". Now that the "law" in Uruguay says that the Uruguayans have absolutely no rights, it is doubtful that Pacheco Areco's story found many takers.

Instead, people here are trying hard to get a clear picture of the events of the last few days at a time when the officially-sanctioned press is more useless than ever. When Pacheco Areco and his Congress declared a national day of mourning for Dan Mitrione and closed all stores, schools, banks, and government offices, there was no sign of sorrowful mass parades or memorial services in Mitrione's honor.

But the police, unencumbered by legality, are having a field day rounding up "suspected Tupamaros".

go on August 3rd to demand that charges be dropped.

The demonstrators were arrested June 26 when they occupied the San Francisco consulate, protesting the arrival in San Francisco of Princess Ashraf, sister of reigning Shah Reza Pahlavi. As United Nations representative of a country where mass arrests, torture, executions and intimidation by the SAVAK secret police are used to repress democratic, even mildly reformist political movements, the Princess is ironically chairwoman of the Human Rights Commission.

### TUPAMAROS ASSAULT A GARRISON: STEP-BY-STEP ACCOUNT

by Julian Hernandez

(Editor's note: In the last two years, the Tupamaros have unnerved the Uruguayan government with their skill, audacity, and capacity to penetrate the inner chambers of the government. The recently executed Agency for International Development attache, Dan A. Mitrione, knew better than anybody how difficult they are to beat. As chief U.S. policy advisor in Uruguay, his specialty was weeping over exploits like the following massive arms robbery staged at the arsenal guarded by the Uruguayan Navy's crack unit. The account comes from Presma Laguna, the revolutionary agency of Cuba.)

Montevideo, Uruguay (LNS)-- Fernando Garin takes off his helmet and puts it on again. It is 1:45 on the morning of May 29, and everything has been planned for this moment. At the entrance of the Uruguayan Navy Training Center pays no attention to this unimportant gesture.

The three men in the car which has just taken off down Washington Street towards the center know with certainty that the man who removed his helmet and put it on again is Fernando Garin, 23 years old, a native of the town of Juan Lacaze and son of one of the founders of the textile syndicate.

Next to the car rises the strong wall of the military center. A hundred meters away the traffic in Montevideo's seaside avenue is heavy in spite of the hour. On the roof of the entrance gate there is another sentry. Around sixty persons--officers and sailors--sleep inside the old building.

Another guard stands in back, facing the street called Lindolfo Cuestas, and in the surroundings of the garrison 19 commandos belonging to the Tupamaros await a signal.

Now everything depends on the three revolutionaries who are in the car, and, above all, on Fernando Garin's steady nerves.

When the car stops in front of the gate, the guards become worried. Two Tupamaros get out of the automobile. "We're from the police, we need to see the officer on duty," they command with an authoritarian voice.

The guard calls the orderly Ga-

rin comes out frowning, pretending suspicion. He goes to one side and inspects the papers of the alleged police agents. He asks them to go in.

The scene is carefully watched by other members of the Tupamaros who are hiding in the darkness of the street a hundred meters away. Before crossing the entrance gate one of the men looks rapidly above. On the roof, four meters above the ground, the sentry now at ease, puts down his AR-15.

The garrison fortress is in a dock neighborhood on the corner of Washington and Guarani Sts., only two blocks away from Buenos Aires Street. Twelve blocks away stands the Plaza de la Independencia and the Presidential Palace.

An enamored couple wanders down Avenida Street as they pass by the garrison's high grey wall one of the newly arrived "policemen" holds them.

"Identification", he demands. Nervous hands, signs of weakness, the boy searches in his pockets, the girl in her purse.

"We don't have any", they say in a low voice. "We're students from the Instituto Vazquez Acevedo. We can prove it."

"We'll see," answers the policeman and orders them to go into the garrison.

Meanwhile on the garrison roof, Garin walks up to the sentry and tells him he's come to substitute for him. There seems to be too much activity this morning, though, and the sentry feels that something is not working right. It can be observed in his indecision.

But Garin strikes the guard in the stomach with his Colt .45 and takes the rifle.

By now, the "policemen" and the two "students" surround the sentry at the entrance gate. From above, Garin is pointing a rifle at him.

When Garin and the two Tupamaros disguised as policemen enter the military establishment, the corporal calls the officer on duty. He doesn't suspect anything and it doesn't occur to him to ring the alarm which would go off in the dormitories. The officer and the corporal are quickly overpowered and tied up.

was withdrawn after street protests at the Immigration building but the threat of deportation to Iran, where imprisonment is certain and death a distinct possibility for the 41, remains. Any foreigner who serves 30 days in jail can be deported.

International demonstrations the day before the August 4th trial, in Austria, Germany, England, France, Italy and Turkey besides the United States, are backing not only the 41 students in San Francisco, but also the

continued on next page

Uruguayan sailors wear a special poncho which can easily be exchanged; two Tupamaros slip into the ponchos and take over the guard. From outside, the Navy Training Center looks just the same as on any other night.

17 more Tupamaro commandos are let into the garrison courtyard. They take over the building in which 30 sailors are sleeping--and the infirmary, the dining room, the recruiting office the officers' rooms, the artillery section.

The startled sailors are lined up in the central patio, most of them still in under-clothes. There is tension among the Tupamaros because the keys to the cells don't show up. Twenty minutes later the cells are opened and the sailors are locked up.

A truck enters through the entrance gate and parks in the middle of the patio. The commandos empty the arsenal and gather up the arms left in the dormitories: a total of 300 rifles, two .30 calibre machine guns, 60,000 bullets, 150 Colt .45 calibre pistols, several sub-machine guns, and six AR-15 rifles used by the Americans in Vietnam plus 75 powerful grenades also used in Indonesia.

Just at this moment, two sailors belonging to the garrison arrive at the entrance, greet the disguised Tupamaros and go on in. But the commandos have prepared for this kind of an emergency and a special trap controls them as they enter.

At 3:30 a.m. the truck carrying the arsenal and the commandos pulls out of the garrison unnoticed, leaving six Tupamaros behind. All the telephone wires have been cut from the beginning. The garrison is completely quiet; only the traffic on the nearby avenue can be heard.

One of the remaining commandos quietly raises the Tupamaro flag, takes photographs of the jailed officers and sailors, of the flag and the revolutionary slogans written on the walls.

Garin leaves a letter explaining how he could no longer endure seeing the tortures inflicted on the workers of "Ulnas y telefonos del Estado" who were arrested during a strike.

At 4:15 the remaining Tupamaros depart from the garrison and drive out of the area in a number of cars left parked in the vicinity.

Quite some time passes until a group of Navy officers manages to open up their locks, and run to warn the Army Intelligence Service, located two blocks away.

Agents and Navy forces begin to mobilize, but only the Tupamaro flag remains in the morning of the 29th, the President, the Minister of Defense, and high military chiefs begin an emergency meeting.

### INTERNATIONAL PROTEST SUPPORTS IRANIAN STUDENTS

San Francisco (LNS) -- The way, by hand of the United States reaches from Tehran to San Francisco in crushing any move by Iranians to bring democracy to their country and to end the imperialist strangle-hold on the impoverished people of the rich land. Forty-one Iranian students are awaiting trial in San Francisco now for protesting political repression in their home country, and the Iranian Student Association is asking sympathetic Americans to join in protests at the Iranian consulates in New York, San Francisco and Chicago.

go on August 3rd to demand that charges be dropped.

The demonstrators were arrested June 26 when they occupied the San Francisco consulate, protesting the arrival in San Francisco of Princess Ashraf, sister of reigning Shah Reza Pahlavi. As United Nations representative of a country where mass arrests, torture, executions and intimidation by the SAVAK secret police are used to repress democratic, even mildly reformist political movements, the Princess is ironically chairwoman of the Human Rights Commission.

At the request of the San Francisco consul, the Tac Squad broke up the June 26 protest, beating at least six students, cracking one student's skull and leaving vision in his right eye impaired. They were charged in the classic style of political cases with burglary, assaulting officers, resisting arrest, malicious conduct, trespassing and conspiracy. Bail was set at \$2,000 to \$4,000 apiece, but when the money was raised their supporters found the Immigration Service had placed a "hold" on them, meaning deportation was imminent. The "hold"

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## INTERNATIONAL PROTEST SUPPORTS IRANIAN STUDENTS

widening popular uprisings in Iran, most of which have met with mass arrests.

Over 200 persons were arrested in February following serious protests against the increase in bus fares in Teheran. At the University of Shiraz one student was killed and 27 arrested in putting down protests against a tuition increase. The Kurds, who have finally won some measure of ethnic autonomy in Iraq after decades of fighting, have resisted the Shah's regime, and many Kurdish leaders are in jail or exile. Peasants in the north of Iran, a sparsely populated country with expanses of mountains and desert and half the size of India, as well as oil workers in the south have reactivated their long tradition of insurgency against foreign domination of their country.

The United States has been deeply involved in Iran since 1953, when CIA official Kermil Roosevelt, relative of the two Roosevelt presidents, financed and instigated a coup against Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, placing

the current Shah in power. Roosevelt garnered a vastly increased share of oil concessions for United States companies at the expense of the British, who had been undisputed foreign controllers of Iran since the Russian revolution withdrew Czarist Imperial competition for Iranian wealth. Roosevelt later was named vice-president of Gulf Oil.

Mossadegh, although himself a wealthy landowner, represented the last popular nationalist leader in a position of influence. Since then the Shah has increased his domestic army and secret police forces, estimated at over 260,000 men. He has been a key figure in the U.S. military alliance of the middle East (CENTO). His touted land reform program has inched forward slowly, distributing land mainly to middle peasants rather than the poorest, landless peasants who constitute over three-fourths of the country. Since the land is being paid for rather than directly appropriated, the big landowners--and the Shah is the biggest--are actually accumulating vast capital by selling their

holdings of poor land at high prices.

Some of the biggest beneficiaries of the Shah's government have been U.S. corporations. When 55 major financiers and industrialists, including David Rockefeller, recently visited Iran to assess concessions for possible future investments, students showed their interest by burning down the Iran-American Society building.

The 41 students hope to use their trial to present the grievances they were not allowed to give Princess Ashraf in San Francisco. If they succeed in bringing the politics of the trial into the open, Americans may find out that Iran and the Shah are not fairy-tale fantasies about peacocks, glittering jewels, romantic royalty and a Modern, Progressive Prince, but rather another example of political oppression and economic exploitation maintained through that familiar old cabal of a traditional ruling elite, powerful United States corporations and the CIA.



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## BOBBY'S APPEAL

increasingly harsh penalties has taken place primarily in the area of indirect contempt. See, e.g., 1967 DUKE L. J., 632, 648 n. 64. (END OF FOOTNOTES)

While there appears to be no case dealing with the issue as to whether the rule of Bloom can be avoided by adding separate sentences even where the aggregate sentence exceeds six months, analogous authority outside the contempt area supports appellant's position. *State v. Owens*, 54 N.J. 153, 254 A.2d 97 (1969), involved the issue of whether a jury trial was required when three petty offenses were tried together even though it would not be required for any of the offenses alone. The court held that "...when, as here, the several petty offenses are factually related and arise out of a single event..." then either a jury trial must be accorded or the aggregate sentence may not exceed that authorized for a petty offense. (254 A.2d at 102) *Owens* relied on *James v. Headley*, 410 F.2d 325, at 327, n.4, 329 (5th Cir. 1969), holding potential maximum sentences of charges tried together must be aggregated for purposes of determining whether the defendant is entitled to counsel. (66) *Owens* also relied on federal cases holding that where the right to appeal in a criminal case turns on the penalty imposed, and several charges are joined in one case, the aggregate penalty is determinative at least where the charges are factually related. (67) Appellate review, like jury trial, constitutes a means of limiting the power of one man, the trial judge, over a criminal defendant. (68)

(66) "Assuming...that the length of punishment is a relevant factor in determining the right to counsel, it is a false measure to weigh only the largest of its component parts. If a guilty person is convicted, the sum of the potential penalties is what is important to him--and to society." (410 F.2d at 329) See also *Bohr v. Purdy*, 412 F.2d 321 (5th Cir. 1969); *Steadman v. Duff*, 302 F. Supp. 313 (1969); *State v. Lucas*, 24 Wis. 2d 82, 128 N.W. 2d 422 (1964); and *In re Johnson*, 62 Cal. 2d 325; 398 P.2d 420 (1965), where in finding a right to counsel the courts also looked to the aggregate penalties of combined charges.

(67) See *Chambers v. District of Columbia*, 194 F.2d 336 (D.C. Cir. 1952); *O'Bryen v. District of Columbia*, 223 A.2d 799 (D.C. Mun. Cr. App. 1966). In *O'Bryen* the court stated:

(When several offenses, closely related in both nature and time, are prosecuted in one

trial--whether they are charged in separate informations or as separate counts in one information--the total of the fines imposed is the amount which determines the right of appeal..." (223 A.2d at 801)

(68) Should this Court remand for further proceedings, we point out that they would be governed by F.R. Crim. P. 42 (b), which provides for the disqualification of the trial judge "(i) the contempt charged involves disrespect to or criticism of" him, as clearly the contempts charged in the instant case do (see, *infra* pp. 79-84 and n. 103). Disqualification would also be required because the trial judge has already decided appellant is guilty and a four-year sentence warranted. See, e.g., *United States v. Barnett*, 346 F.2d 99, 101 (5th Cir. 1965); 330 F.2d 369, 419-21 (5th Cir. 1963) (Jones concurring); cf. *Jualich v. United States*, 214 F.2d 950, 955-56 (5th Cir. 1954); *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U.S. 145 (1879); *Hok v. United States*, 218 U.S. 245 (1910).

In some cases Bloom violations have been remedied by reducing the contemnor's sentence to six months. See, e.g., *United States v. Harris*, 367 F.2d 626 (2nd Cir. 1966).

(END OF FOOTNOTES)

The reasons for looking to the aggregate penalty in determining the procedural protections, such as right to jury trial, to be accorded a defendant are of course particularly compelling in contempt proceedings where the defendant is not protected by the traditional buffers standing between him and the exercise of arbitrary power, such as legislative definition of the crime and limitation on the penalty. (See generally *supra*, pp. 55-56.)

Requiring jury trial whenever the aggregate penalty exceeds six months leaves ample power to deal with the problem of repeated, serious misconduct at trial. Courts have the alternatives of conducting a summary proceeding and imposing up to a maximum six-month sentence at any time that such misconduct seriously disrupts the administration of justice; or, where a more serious sentence appears warranted, of setting the case down for hearing, with a jury. And, of course, courts have at their disposal a variety of powerful remedies other than criminal contempt. (69)

(69) See *Illinois v. Allen*, U.S., 38 U.S.L. Wk. 4247 (March 31, 1970), upholding courts' power to deal with seriously disruptive misconduct by removal of the defendant, binding and gagging, or imprisonment for civil contempt. (END OF FOOTNOTE)

We, the brothers of Soledad-North, have again fallen victims to an insidious plot purposely designed to abort all efforts in securing meaningful dialogue with concerned Black people. The imposed restrictions at hand are only the latest in a series of continuous denials that have virtually placed us in a state rendering us incommunicado. We have run the gamut attempting to contact student groups, civic organizations, entertainment groups, etc., but in each case our initiative has been systematically and arbitrarily repelled.

To bridge this gap, we purpose that you, the people, demand your rights as conscious citizens and taxpayers, to inspect these twentieth century dungeons.

We do not expect any immediate results to flower, once a joint move is made to the California Department of Corrections. We know our advantage lies in a protracted survey, which will produce conclusive evidence. Evidence enough to render a verdict of guilty upon all its perpetrators in any court of law, or a People's Tribunal. By coordinating our efforts, we on the inside can point out all the heavy stones and you on the outside can respond by turning them over for the purpose of investigation. Be prepared for incredible findings, for after all the pebbles have been exposed, the faces under the big rocks will be those of California's Aristocracy.

We were prepared to submit to you the complete hierarchy of North-Facility's working staff. Along with this, we intend to depict the covert racism and the overt racist practices entrenched within its hiring and every day functioning policies. To illustrate a point, there are fifteen Academic Teaching positions on North-Facility's payroll. Of the fifteen here, there is not one Black incumbent. There are twelve Vocational Instructors. Only one is Black. It is not our intention to relegate or question capacity, but few, if any, parolees pursue employment in the field of shoe repair. There are fifteen Administrative positions; they are as follows: Deputy Superintendent, Associate Superintendent, In-Service Training Officer, two Program Administrators, two Correctional Counselors II, and eight Correctional Counselors I, and not one is

Black. There are fifteen secretarial and one stenographer's positions. And again not one is Black.

We could go on and on, but the truth is that we need your help to rebuff this rabid, pathological practice that emanates from the California Department of Corrections.

In the wake of all this, there are still other dehumanizing practices that are carried on under the guise of REHABILITATION. The now infamous "O"-Wing is but one case in point.

The protagonistic aristocracy vivaciously assures the public that these demonic dungeons are the manifested quarters of convicts not able to adjust to the population and rehabilitation offered them. So these twentieth century dungeons are supposedly maintained to readjust the convict to the normal synthesis of Society and the Department of Corrections and their supporters. In fact, the atrocities suffered by the convicts are too numerous to extensively voice, but here we'll present some of the sadistic, racist, dehumanizing tactics practiced by both the members of the Official Staff and other convicts of opposing ethnic groups.

First of all, the terms served in these dungeons range from five days to two years. There are many brothers who have not been, and will not be, allowed to enter the mainline population, not connotative to the supposedly physical threat they may pose, but rather due to the mental transition of awareness that would be influxed upon their brothers and the mainline population. This awareness would expose the Aristocracy. So, indubitably, you have Political Prisoners.

The food given the convicts is handled by racist perverts (convicts and staff members) who whimsically excrete urine, feces, and other would-be fatal anomalous articles into the portions designated for the brothers.

Hygiene is deplorable. Showers and clothing changes are offered periodically. The variations of the periods without change is deemed solely by the persons; I'm sorry, mechanisms of the state known as CORRECTIONS OFFICERS. Don't let the papers fool you, the most liked officers are NOT assigned the hole. Mills was assigned to the hole.

Periodically supposed incidents, such as the one within the year when the three brothers were murdered. Black men are assaulted, and murdered at will, by these racist, sadistic, psychotic guards. Needless to say, of the other murders having been perpetrated and egregiously promulgated to the people under the guise of suicide, heart attack, etc., little has been said because little is known. The recent military tactics insured upon the North-Facility population are comparable to the "Strategic Hamlets" in Viet Nam. To note this action: 122 convicts were transferred from N.F. (46 Black, 37 Mexican-American, 38 White). Twenty of the Blacks transferred are currently in the "Adjustment Center" ("O" Wing and "X" Wing) compared to 18 Mexican-Americans and 7 Caucasians.

This was done under the pretense of "Institutional Convenience." Several of these Black men are held on trumped-up charges of conspiracy. They have been illegally interrogated, apprehended, and if you sit by, illegally convicted and systematically killed.

On the date that the Correctional Officer (Shull) died, the imprisoned populace was locked up and released after a period of two days with no Black men being sent to the A.C., but one week later a disturbance occurs in which no Blacks participated and 46 Black men were transferred. These men were, in fact, no threat to the security of this institution. Knowing the treatment received in the A.C., these men must readjust themselves to a new program, new rules, procedures, relationships with other inmates, not to mention the dispendent situation in which it places the men and their families. Think of the problem these men must have stabilizing themselves for release.

For us to give you, the people, a clear analysis of the situations we're subjected to, we must go directly to the roots perpetuating not only the aforementioned diabolical crimes against us, but also to you, the people.

Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War of  
CORRECTIONAL TRAINING  
FACILITY  
NORTH-FACILITY

# October 1966

## Black Panther Party Platform and Program

# What We Want What We Believe



*Huey P. Newton Minister of Defense  
Black Panther Party*

**1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.**

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

**2. We want full employment for our people.**

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

**3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.**

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

**4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.**

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

**5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

**6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.**

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

**7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.**

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

**8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.**

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

**9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.**

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

**10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.**

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



# REVOLUTIONARY INFORMATION

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"After three hundred years of slavery and caste oppression, unmitigated terror and torture, physical and otherwise--which continues today though opposed by every means possible of human conception--while all the time remaining faithful to this government in time of war and peace, we feel the United Nations must give a hearing to the plight of Black Americans." -- Brother Malcolm X (left to right) Eldridge Cleaver, Huey P. Newton, Malcolm X, Bobby Seale. \$1.00 each



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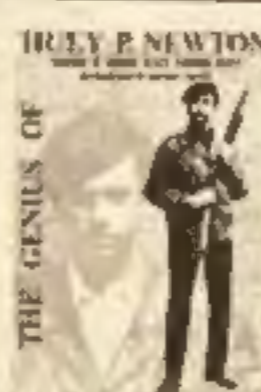
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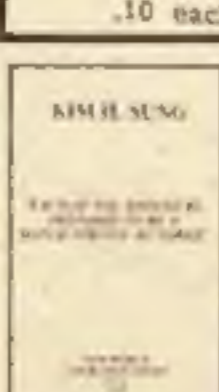
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